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## Near East/South Asia Report

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28 May 1985

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ALL-ARMENIAN CATHOLICOS SENDS MESSAGES TO ARAB HEADS OF STATE

Beirut ARARAT in Armenian 21 Mar 85 p 2

[Communique issued by the Secretariat of the Mother See of Holy Echmiadzin on 22 February 1985]

[Text] On February 20, the Catholicos of All Armenians, His Holiness Vazken I, sent special handwritten messages to:

- a) His Majesty King Hussein II of Jordan;
- b) His Excellency President Hafiz al-Assad of the Republic of Syria;
- c) His Excellency President Amine Gemayel of the Republic of Lebanon;
- d) His Excellency President Saddam Husayn of the Republic of Iraq.

The contents of the messages were:

We thank God Almighty for giving us this opportunity to send this message to your eminence, wise and valiant president, from the Holy Echmiadzin, the centuries-old center of faith of the Armenian people.

We were given this opportunity by the tragic memory of the martyrdom of the nearly 2 million sons and daughters of the Armenian church and nation. The 70th anniversary of this martyrdom will be commemorated on 24 April by all Armenians in Soviet Armenia as well as the Diaspora.

At this solemn time of mourning and prayers, the Armenian church and the Armenian nation cannot forget the humanitarian treatment so generously accorded by your country and the noble Arab nation to the thousands of destitute Armenians who had survived the genocide organized by the Ottoman government in 1915 as a result of which the entire Armenian population of Western Armenia perished. In the bosom of the noble Arab nation, the survivors of our innocent martyrs, mostly orphans, found a safe and tranquil haven, brotherly care and every kind of freedom to live and to organize their communal church, their educational and cultural institutions while remaining loyal and constructive citizens of their new homelands.

After 1915, tens of thousands of Armenians who had escaped the claws of genocide also found shelter in Eastern Armenia where the bulk of the surviving

Armenian nation lives and prospers today in peace and security under the stewardship of the Soviet Armenian Republic.

The Armenian church and the entire Armenian nation, from Soviet Armenia to all corners of the world where even a single Armenian heart beats, today remember your country and the noble Arab nation with infinite gratitude and, through us, they express their heartfelt thanks to you and pray that the good God always protect and assist you and your country and forever help you to achieve peace, progress and prosperity and to realize all the just goals of the Arab nation.

Allow us, Your Excellency, to convey with this message our warmest wishes for your good health, the consolidation of your wise deeds and the recognition of your stewardship in the international field.

May your great country be blessed and glorified.

9588

CSO: 4605/148

EGYPT

## FOREIGN BANKS CONSIDER WITHDRAWAL

Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 1 Apr 85 p 8

[Text]

Foreign banks in Egypt are considering withdrawing from the country following the introduction of new regulations that effectively prevent their handling commercial business. The banks say they are being pushed out of import-financing (which, unlike exporting, is virtually all in the hands of the private sector) by government legislation saying that letters of credit should be denominated only in Egyptian pounds. Egypt's foreign banks are forbidden from handling local currency.

At the same time, the government has introduced a new incentive exchange rate to encourage workers abroad (who are mainly in the oil-exporting countries in the Gulf) to repatriate their earnings through the official banking system rather than via the black market. The incentive rate, which was subsequently also applied to foreign investors, has recently been at about E£1.55 to the US dollar, as against the E£1.40/dollar that formerly applied in the black market.

The new regulations will also have the effect of directing foreign exchange into the public-sector banks, making it accessible to the government, and slowing down the flow of foreign imports to cut Egypt's expected \$1bn trade deficit this year. To this end, the government has also increased the number of items now requiring import licences from 130 to 333.

As a way of giving foreign banks access to local currency, the government has recommended that they should go into joint-venture with Egyptian partners. However, this would allow foreign partners to have only 49 per cent participation in the joint-venture and foreign banks are not willing to surrender control their operations so readily. As a stop-gap measure to allow foreign banks to continue to issue letters of credit, the government last month allowed foreign banks to exchange hard currency through special accounts at any of the country's four public-sector banks. But some foreign bankers are now say-



ing that the government's apparent lack of concern about the effect of the new rules on foreign banks calls into question the government's whole commitment to the open-door *infatih* policy introduced by President Anwar Sadat.

The foreign banks' main source of foreign currency — repatriated earnings from workers abroad — has so sharply declined in recent months that it is no longer worth while for the banks to operate through accounts in the public-sector banks. Remittances, which are Egypt's principal source of foreign exchange, normally flow at a rate of \$5bn to \$6bn a year; but they are currently being transferred at the rate of \$1.72bn a year. Most of the fall is attributed to cut-backs in the Gulf in investment and project spending and is the direct consequence of the shrinking oil market. But part of the fall reflects the confusion in the administration of the new regulations and the proliferation in the number of exchange rates.

Reports from Cairo say that workers abroad have almost stopped transferring earnings until they see how the new regulations are operated.

One American banker estimated foreign-bank business to be down by 25 to 30 per cent since the introduction of the new rules. "The new measures are complicated and cumbersome and will not generate enough foreign exchange," he said.

"The general manager of a joint-venture bank said business had fallen by 60 per cent since the beginning of the year. He said the bank was issuing only one-tenth of the 60 to 70 letters of credit a month, worth \$5mn to \$6mn, that it would normally expect to issue.

While bankers seem generally agreed that a new order must be introduced into Egypt's foreign exchange regulations, the recent legislation is not the way to do it, they say. They also suggest that Egypt's ability to get foreign loans and credit may be affected if foreign banks now in Egypt lose confidence in the country's financial management.

Indeed, some reports say that if the current confusion persists for very much longer, the government itself could be short of foreign exchange and face a severe financial crisis. Already importers are finding it difficult to secure hard currency and this difficulty is being reflected in a shortage of imported foodstuffs and motor cars. Worst of all, the \$3bn-a-year black market that the regulations were supposed to eradicate is beginning to re-appear while the local banks are not yet prepared to provide a satisfactory alternative.

EGYPT

# MEAT DEAL SIGNED WITH NEW ZEALAND

Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 1 Apr 85 p 8

[Text]

Egypt will import up to 45,000 tonnes of New Zealand lamb over the next three years, following an agreement signed last week. New Zealand will supply 12,500 tonnes of lamb this year and at least 15,000 tonnes a year for the next two years, agriculture minister Mr Colin Moyle said. The price of the deal will reflect market prices in London's Smithfield meat market.

A second agreement, to sell 2,000 tonnes of full-cream milk powder during this year, has also been signed with Egypt. Mr Moyle said the agreements would lead to "very substantial trade between New Zealand and Egypt."

Mr Moyle has visited a number of Arab states, including Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Oman and Bahrain, as part of a Middle East tour to look for trading opportunities and to encourage agricultural cooperation. In Oman, the minister won approval for New Zealand to take part in future tenders for meat to the armed forces and other large-scale buyers. On cooperation, Mr Moyle suggested that New Zealand could help Egypt in its recent introduction of electric fencing for openfield fattening of beef cattle. The two countries will also cooperate to see if New Zealand fruits can be grown in Egypt.

CSO: 4500/111

EGYPT

SOFT LOANS FROM GERMANY PLANNED

Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 1 Apr 85 p 9

[Text]

Egypt will receive soft-term credits from West Germany in 1985 amounting to Dm235mn (\$74.6mn) for economic projects already agreed between the two countries. A further Dm33mn (\$10.5mn) has been earmarked for technical cooperation projects. The total of German aid to Egypt for 1985 (Dm268mn) documents the importance which the West German government attaches to good relations with Cairo. Egypt is, after India, the largest recipient of German aid.

Future financial and technical cooperation between the Federal Republic of Germany and Egypt will concentrate on canalization, afforestation, protection against erosion, industrial import-substitution and the efficient use of energy. This was the result of four days of official talks in Bonn last month between the governments of the two countries, which culminated in the signing of a cooperation protocol on March 21st.

The focal point of financial cooperation will continue to be the improvement of the infrastructure and industrial development. New projects will include a paper mill in Upper Egypt, a canalization project in the Nile Delta and a study on the rationalization of energy in industries with a high energy demand. The governments also agreed to strengthen cooperation over the provision of transformer plants. The German government will provide technical assistance to Egypt for afforestation, protection against erosion, and training in the technical professions, consultancy in agriculture, housing and urban planning.

The delegations agreed that future cooperation should increasingly focus on activities in which tangible success had already been achieved or where there was a likelihood of success. Bonn's development aid to Egypt is geared

to bringing about the structural transformation of the economy, which both sides saw as necessary. In view of Egypt's declining foreign-exchange earnings, which are expected to fall still further, German experts are stressing the importance of import substitution, diversification and the promotion of export oriented industries in those fields in which Egypt enjoys a comparative advantage.

CSO: 4500/111

EGYPT

# PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRY TO EXPAND

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 14 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] WORK on the implementation of a number of projects in the fields of petroleum refining and petrochemical industries is underway. The chairman of Engineering Company for the Petroleum and Process Industries, Dr Mostafa el-Refaai, said that his company has already completed a number of final designs for many of the new petroleum project included in the five-year development plan. He added that the government's current plan includes the introduction of petrochemical industries as well as making better and lar-

ger utilisation of available natural gas resources.

Dr el-Refaai also pointed out that the company is preparing the detailed designs for the new petrochemical complex, the capacity of which is due to reach 80,000 tons of polyethylene chloride pastes mainly required for plastics industry. He added that the company has also finished the designs of the second unit of the ethylene plastics projects. Similar projects in the other fields of petrochemical industries will also be implemented, he stated.

Work is underway for preparing the detailed designs for the petroleum refinery to be set up in Assiut. Dr el-Refaai said that the capacity of the first stage of the refinery will be 2.5 million tons to be increased to 5 million tons in the second stage.

The company has also completed, ahead of schedule, the final designs of the refinery affiliated to el-Nasr Company for Petroleum in Suez. Dr el-Refaai said that this refinery is the biggest and latest project of its kind in the country. GSS

CSO: 4500/92

EGYPT

## IMPORTED FOOD SUBJECTED TO RIGOROUS TESTING

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 17 Apr 85 p 3

[Text]

FOOD-TASTING is one of the unique jobs undertaken by 29 women employed in the Ministry of Supply. By tasting samples of imported food, they either allow or veto the circulation of the foodstuff in the local market.

They are requested to give a report on the fitness of the foodstuff for consumption and their expiry date, plus their suitability to Egyptian taste. The 29 women who are graduates of The Domestic Science Faculty, received training at the Nutrition Institute so that they can recognise sub-standard food.

When the Ministry of Supply contracts for foodstuff unfamiliar to the Egyptian market whether for its nutritive value, cheap price or the unavailability of local substitutes, it is the Consumptive Control Administration that is assigned to give its opinion, said Director

of the Administration, Mrs Bothaina el-Essawi.

For instance, she said, certain canned fish was rejected because of the high percentage of gelatine it contained, which may cause high blood pressure.

She further explained that frozen and canned food usually undergoes thorough testing, as some foreign companies resort to concealing certain defects such as disregarding expiry dates.

The role of the tasters is not confined only to this, but they also make daily a follow-up of the market to know the consumers demand of the imported items. In the light of this, the import of foodstuffs is determined.

Mrs el-Essawi called for authorising the administration staff to spot those who sell infiltrated foodstuff which has not been tested before being offered on the market. — GSS

CSO: 4500/92

EGYPT

AGRICULTURE MINISTER REVIEWS POLICIES

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 18 Feb 85 p 4

[Text]

IF EGYPT imported all its meat, eggs, milk and one or two other items of food at present being produced domestically, the saving would amount to some £750 million a year.

This was one of the interesting facts to emerge at a meeting with the Minister of Agriculture and Food Security, Dr Yusef Waly, a few days ago for a comprehensive look at the country's farming industry.

More than £700 million has been given in loans for farm development as part of Egypt's basic plan to try to become self-sufficient in as many food items as possible. Some success has been achieved already. For example, the country is now producing enough eggs for home consumption, and there is enough fresh milk to meet demand.

But the biggest problem is that the milk is subsidised by the government and investment in any area where there are subsidies is obviously not encouraged.

Dr Waly told me: "It is better not to think of investing in anything in Egypt that is under subsidy or government control. There are many other areas in farming, such as vegetables, where there are no fixed prices and we welcome investment there."

Egypt is leaning towards the private sector in the agricultural industry. At present, 96 per cent of the existing farms, many of them quite small, are in private hands. The major land reclamation projects, such as the Salhia one, are handled with government and overseas loan money and operated by the major public companies which have the ability and technical capacity to tackle such major enterprises.

The Agriculture Ministry owns most of the non-cultivated land and it lays down the prices to be paid by those wishing to buy units for cultivation. Before the ministry took control, land prices were soaring in the most popular areas.

The minister gave one example of a parcel of land in the desert not too far from Cairo which was at one time going for £8,000 an acre. As prices rose, the land reached the formidable asking rate of £36,000 an acre. Since the government took over, the area is available at the usual charge for desert plots of £400.

Dr Waly said that since the beginning of this year, he had not signed any agreement on desert land at above the £400 price. So far, 70 per cent of the sales have been to companies, 10 to cooperatives and the rest to the private sector. Development costs are, of course, in addition to the land cost.

Stressing the desire of the government to push ahead quickly with schemes in desert areas, Dr Waly said that investors would receive every help from his ministry and other sections of the government. Ventures with East and West are being planned. These are in addition schemes to help small farmers improve production of chicken, rabbits and other animals, which are being trained out of a \$25 million US loan.

Egyptians are great lovers of the sweet things and up to 30 kilos of sugar are consumed per head per year. The majority also consumes large amounts of bread daily. The bread is more of a problem than sugar because Egypt has little hope of producing sufficient wheat for a considerable time. "We will depend on the major producers for at least

15 years," Dr Waly said.

But the country is fortunate in receiving large food aid for wheat, nearly from the United States, and as wheat is a low-cash crop, the government regards the moves into high-cash crops, such as citrus and vegetables, as preferable at the moment.

One promising new crop is yellow maize and Egypt is producing three-quarters of the national requirement in ordinary maize. Rice continues to be a success with 70,000 tons exported last year. Cotton, which earns revenue in excess of \$1 billion a year, is also a vital crop.

Exports of the better-known cash crops are expected to remain at the same level this year as last. These include citrus at 183,000 tons, potatoes 150,000 tons, melons 50,000 tons, and vegetables 100,000 tons.

One of the most difficult questions you can ask a minister here is on the subject of subsidies for basic commodities such as bread, bottled gas, electricity and petrol. They cost the country more than \$2 billion a year and absorb the entire revenues from the cotton crop and Suez Canal tolls.

I asked Dr Waly what plans, if any, there were to end the subsidies and what the policy was for the future. A few weeks before I had asked another minister the same question and did not get a reply. This time I did.

"We must remove the subsidies on agriculture in five to seven years," Dr Waly said. "We will move to free economy. Once we can remove some subsidies, we can remove others."

With a smile, the minister said it would take time. "You must remember we do things in Egypt slowly but surely."

EGYPT

## TOURIST DEVELOPMENT PLANS OUTLINED

Cairo EGYPTIAN MAIL in English 13 Apr 85 p 2

[Text]

THE Minister of Reconstruction and New Communities Mr Hassaballa el Kafrawi, yesterday affirmed that the country is keen on boosting tourist projects on the North Western Coast. Extending loans of LE 9,000 for each tourist project at an interest rate of 8 per cent for cooperative societies undertaking tourist establishments in this area is now being studied, he said.

This came in a speech made by Minister el-Kafrawi during his meeting with chairmen of the various cooperative societies implementing such projects, held in Alexandria. He pointed out that the deadline for paying required costs of the main utilities in the area is extended to three months as of today.

While the state bears five pounds of the costs of each square metre of such utilities, cooperative societies pays LE 3 only, said the Minister adding that he will give to all public sector companies to provide cooperative societies with technical

advice specially as regards providing the interior utilities for various tourist villages.

Speaking of the already completed stages in the new tourist projects on the North West Coast, the Minister said that the first stage of Marakia village which is comprised of L,000 flats, has been finished. The village will be an example for cooperative societies to follow in their move towards reconstructing the North Coast, being the future of tourism for Egypt.

The second stage of the village comprising L,000 units more will be inaugurated by the end of this year, said Mr el-Kafrawi. Primary steps for setting up two other villages on the kilos 66 and 94 on the Alexandria-Matruh Road, have already started, he added.

A comprehensive residential district will be established for inhabitants of the areas extended from West Alexandria to Saloum, said the Minister. — MSS



EGYPT

## FRANCE TO FUND AIR TRAFFIC CONTROL SYSTEM

Cairo THE EGYPTIAN GAZETTE in English 17 Apr 85 p 3

[Text]

THE French Government has decided to allocate an additional fund of 40 million francs to cover maintenance of the radar air-traffic control building at the airports the cost of which amounts to some 110 million francs.

Starting this week traffic in the Egyptian air space will be controlled through the new building, which is provided with advanced equipment. The radar station will be functioning at full capacity early next year, said Mr Naïem Abdu Salem, Supervisor-General of the Air Control Department.

The decision to transfer the work to the new building before the completion of all equipment, installations was taken so as to benefit from the available potential on which experiments had been conducted earlier.

For instance, the airport is now in possession of high frequency waves which will cover the whole of the Egyptian air space, after the installation of new stations in

Assiut, Abu Rāwash, Mersa Matruh, Cairo, Alexandria and Luxor.

Other up-to-date telecommunication equipment linking Cairo to other domestic and foreign airports in adjacent capitals is now available.

Mr Salem further pointed out that a new network of air navigation facilities has been introduced besides new air routes, and this has actually led to lessening flight hours on some journeys.

Currently at the disposal of the airport is an automatic cable-communication centre which deals with flight programmes. It is deemed to be the largest and most up-to-date regional centre of its kind in the Middle East, he said.

Director-General of the Air Space, Mr Amin Abul Magdi said that transferring work to the new building will provide a simultaneous opportunity for training and operation of the new devices.

— GSS

CSO: 4500/92

EGYPT

## ARABIAN NIGHTS UNDER ATTACK AS PORNOGRAPHIC

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 24 Apr 85 p 4

[Text]

CAIRO—The Arabian Nights has come under attack here as "pornography" and copies of the work are in danger of being publicly burned.

The collection of short stories of unknown authorship dating from the 10th to 14th century is the most widely-known work of the Arabic literature.

But the book has some erotic passages and it is these which have brought down the wrath of the Egyptian authorities.

It all started with a routine report by a vice squad officer, who drew his superiors' attention to the fact that bookshops were selling "a book called the Thousand and One Nights containing material offending public decency."

The vice brigade took the matter up and began proceedings against the distributors, an editor representing a Lebanese publishing house and another whose firm acquired publishing rights for the unabridged text 70 years ago.

The charge being pressed against them is that the book "offends morals and incites depravation and vice."

But that is not all. The prosecution has called for the book "to be burned in a public square." Intellectuals and figures in the literary world have reacted with alarm. The Union of Egyptian Writers is taking court action to reverse a ban.

The offending edition is more than 150 years old. Printed in Cairo, it was the first complete text available in the

Arab world.

Authors and academics fear that the seizure of the Arabian Nights may be just the thin end of the wedge and that soon the censor's scissors will be snipping away at other classical or contemporary works on the strength of this precedent.

Egypt is in the grips of a decency campaign. Television has received a flood of complaints about sex and violence in films and demands that female presenters should wear less revealing clothing.

A newspaper report about a philosophy student who killed his parents triggered denunciation of existentialism as "perverse" simply because the boy said he supported this philosophy.

But the vice squad's move against the Arabian Nights has a few champions. One of them, a journalist, claims to have received letters from parents fearing their children would be "corrupted" by such reading matter and calls for an expurgated version.

In fact, that is all that has been available, as the only copy of the original text is in the National Library.

The problem of expurgation has troubled publishers throughout the history of the Arabian Nights since it was brought to Europe by the French diplomat Antoine Galland, who produced not only the first translation but also the first printed edition between 1704 and 1712.

SUDAN

VARIOUS ASPECTS, RAMIFICATIONS OF COUP EXAMINED

Secret Story Behind Coup

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 13 Apr 85 pp 15-18

[Article by 'Abd-al-Karim Abu al-Nasr]

[Text] Now that Ja'far Numayri has joined the ranks of former presidents in exile, one must be fair to him. He did create and provide all the domestic, Arab and international conditions that enabled Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman Siwar-al-Dhahab and his group to carry out a successful, swift and bloodless coup against his regime and his men.

Ja'far Numayri did indeed fall from power before an official announcement of his downfall was made. He lost the justification for his existence inside the country and abroad before Siwar-al-Dhahab announced the end of his regime.

It was not the fact that he had spent almost 16 years in power that destroyed Numayri and put an end to him. What destroyed him and brought about his end was his style in government. His practices were too totalitarian and dictatorial, and what he did was usually accompanied by corruption, bribery, mismanagement, a temperamental disposition, and a tendency to flip-flop in making decisions and choices. Consequently, Numayri's administration brought Sudan to the brink of bankruptcy, real famine and civil war.

One must still be fair to Ja'far Numayri, and one must say that he played a principal role--in fact, he played the principal role--in ensuring the success of the coup that was carried out by Siwar-al-Dhahab and his men. A few hours after it was announced last Saturday that the Sudanese president had been overthrown, those who carried out the coup, and the whole world as well, discovered that there was an Arab and international consensus, among friends even more so than among enemies, which manifested itself in a sense of relief over Numayri's departure. Not a single bulletin was issued, not even by those who were closest to the ousted president, expressing regret over the ouster of the man who had ruled Sudan longer than any other leader in that country's modern history. That is something that rarely happens in the history of coups!

One would not be overstating the case if one were to say that the only time in his political career that Numayri managed to achieve consensus inside the country and abroad was on the day he fell from power. Many observers and analysts thought that telegrams of support for those who had carried out the coup had been lying in desk drawers, ready and waiting for that day of relief.

Numayri had lost all his friends, allies and supporters. Therefore, no one shed a single tear when he went into exile. And this may be the harshest punishment that a ruler could face after his downfall.

Although the matter of Numayri's departure became obvious after recently becoming "necessary and imperative," the coup that took place on 6 April this year and was led by Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab has been veiled in mystery and beset by many questions. Among these questions are [the following]:

--Was this coup "spontaneous," and was it the product of a growing popular resentment for Numayri's regime that exploded clearly last week? Or was the coup the result of a well-prepared plan that had been approved by Arab and international countries directly concerned with the situation in Sudan?

--What induced Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab, a man known to have no political ambitions or wishes to take over power, to carry out this coup with his military group? Was he responding to the people's wishes, or was he given a green light to take this action by Egypt, the United States and other countries?

--Is Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab in fact Sudan's strong man now, or is he another Muhammad Najib? In other words, is he a front for other forces that may be military or civilian?

--Is it true that Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab carried out his coup to stave off another coup that was being planned by other forces?

The purpose of asking these questions is not to cast doubts about those who overthrew Numayri's regime. Quite the contrary! These are questions that are on the minds of a number of people who are concerned about Sudan's affairs and are interested in them. The answers to those questions may make up parts of the secret and true story behind that coup which had obviously become necessary even though how it took place and the future of its directions remain a mystery. In an attempt to find answers to those questions we contacted Arabs, including Sudanese, and Westerners who have been watching conditions in Sudan for a long time. We also met a prominent western figure who left Khartoum 36 hours before the coup. That figure had met a large number of Numayri's opponents while he was in Khartoum.

Based on the information and analyses of the people we contacted, it may be said that the actual countdown for this coup began when Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab was appointed minister of defense and commander-in-chief of Sudan's armed forces last 18 March, a matter of days before Numayri's departure to the United States. This was the first time for Numayri, since he came to power in 1969, to relinquish these military responsibilities. He had always been careful to keep his hold on the armed forces since the army had always been his principal, constant and only ally. Numayri had relied on the army to stay in power at a time when he fought or was fought by all political parties and forces in Sudan. Throughout the various stages of his administration Numayri had been opposed by the Muslim Brothers, the communists, al-Ansar, Sudanese nationalists, moderates, independents, etc. The army was the only power that had remained "loyal" to Numayri; it was the only power that Numayri had remained loyal to.

What is it that induced Numayri to turn over the reins of the Sudanese army to Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab? Siwar-al-Dhahab's friendship and loyalty to the regime and the fact that he was an officer with no "obvious" political ambitions did not provide adequate justification for him to take over Numayri's powers as minister of defense and commander-in-chief of the armed forces. What actually happened--as that was revealed to AL-MUSTAQBAL by well-informed Sudanese sources--is that a number of senior officers in Sudan's army had asked Numayri to give these responsibilities to Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab to enable the army to control the situation, especially after a violent confrontation with the Muslim Brothers had begun. The opposition's activities against the regime were also growing. Senior army officers feared that serious disturbances might occur and these could threaten the regime. These sources stated that Numayri complied with the senior army officers' requests, particularly since Siwar-al-Dhahab opposed the Muslim Brothers. Numayri was also concerned about the fact that there be no major security disturbances while he was in the United States. This visit to the United States was very important to Numayri; he thought it would help him solve many of his economic problems. But Numayri had intended to relieve Siwar-al-Dhahab of these responsibilities after some time elapsed and after the army quashed the opposition and brought it under control. A Sudanese personality who knows the former president well assured us that Numayri would have done that.

On the eve of his departure to the United States Numayri was quite confident that he could continue in power. He was confident that his opponents would be unable to crack the regime because of the support he had from the army and its new commander, Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab. In fact, Numayri stated one day in a private meeting before his departure to the United States, "If the opposition can take over the reins of power in Sudan, let them try to do that during my absence. I am confident they will fail because there is no real opposition to the regime. When I come back to Khartoum after my visit to the United States, you will see that the demonstrations and the opposition's violent actions and activities were merely a storm in a cup."

Numayri was confident of himself and of his ability to stay in power even though his regime had led Sudan to the brink of disaster. According to international organizations more than 4 million Sudanese citizens are under the threat of real starvation; the economic situation is in a shambles because of Sudan's 9 billion dollar debt; there is corruption and mismanagement; several regimes and Arab and foreign countries have no confidence in Numayri; and the political situation in the country is beset by an atmosphere of civil war, not that of national reconciliation to confront different problems.

Numayri's confidence was not the product of a true desire or the real ability on his part to confront the problems of his country and work with the various active forces in the country to correct them. His confidence was rather the product of his reliance on military and police forces to quell any uprising and protect the regime. He counted on the fact that President Reagan's administration would give him some aid and that he would thus lead the people to believe that the superpowers still had confidence in him and his regime.

However, all these great illusions did actually collapse on Tuesday, April the 2nd of this year.

On that day Numayri appeared vulnerable, stripped of any magical power. His real weakness became evident to the Sudanese people and their various forces.

But what happened on Tuesday, April 2?

The fact is that in the fall of 1984 various forces of Sudan's opposition had set down a secret plan to overthrow Numayri by carrying out a series of demonstrations and acts of violence in different Sudanese cities. These activities would be stepped up as security agencies repressed them. The opposition was waiting for "the right opportunity" to implement this plan. Elements of this "right opportunity" began coming together last March. Chief among them were:

1. Numayri turned against the Muslim Brothers. He had formed an alliance with them after the application of Islamic law began in September 1983 and after he turned over important state responsibilities to Dr Hasan al-Turabi, a Muslim Brother leader, and to other Muslim Brothers. Last February former President Numayri turned against the Muslim Brothers. Then in March he launched an extensive campaign against them and arrested more than 300 Muslim Brothers, including Dr al-Turabi himself. It is being said that U.S. officials had "advised" Numayri to dismantle his alliance with the Muslim Brothers and to proceed slowly with the application of Islamic law. It is being said that U.S. officials made the resumption of U.S. aid to Sudan and support for the regime in front of the IMF and other international organizations contingent upon compliance with their "advice." It is also being said that early this year Egyptian officials sent Numayri a set of documents, tapes and video cassettes which showed the Muslim Brothers conspiring to overthrow his regime. At any rate, Numayri turned against the Muslim Brothers who then in effect joined other opposition forces in forming the National Salvation Front in July 1984. The Muslim Brothers did not form an alliance with this front, which is made up of al-Ansar sect, whose leader is former prime minister, al-Sadiq al-Mahdi; communists; Nasirists; Ba'thists; and Arab nationalists.

2. Application of a series of austerity measures was begun in compliance with U.S. and IMF advice. This was done to pave the way for Sudan's receiving new international aid. The most notable of these measures was the removal of subsidies for basic goods and raising the price of bread.

3. Numayri relinquished the command of the army to Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman Siwar-al-Dhahab.

After these factors converged, the opposition gave the green light for implementation of the secret plan against Numayri and his regime. Demonstrations, strikes and acts of violence actually began to spread all over the country. The plan called for these acts to reach their peak at the time when Numayri was to begin his talks with President Reagan and U.S. officials. Trade unions and various professional organizations--for physicians, engineers, lawyers, university professors, civil servants, students, academicians, etc.--did actually call a general strike and ask the people to practice civil disobedience to protest recent economic measures and bring about the downfall of the regime. People responded to that call, and Sudan came to a complete standstill last week. There was a vast popular uprising in Sudan for the first time since 1964, when the Sudanese rebelled against Ibrahim 'Abbud's administration. This uprising combined the rebellion of the hungry with that of intellectuals.

The aim of this dual revolution was to show the Sudanese regime--to itself, to the Arabs, to the United States and to the world--as a weak, declining, decrepit regime that had forfeited the people's confidence just as the president had forfeited it.

It was on Tuesday, April 2 that the principals of Sudan's regime committed a fatal mistake. As the rebellion against the regime grew, its principals decided to organize a large popular demonstration of support for Numayri and his policy. The Sudanese Socialist Union, Sudan's only ruling party, undertook the task of preparing and organizing this popular demonstration. It set the date for that demonstration: Tuesday, April 2. It came as a surprise or shock--and that was confirmed to us by an eyewitness who was in Khartoum that day--that only about 2,000 persons took part in that demonstration and carried signs bearing expressions of support for Numayri. The regime's weakness was clearly revealed; but its principals still wanted to deceive and mislead the Sudanese. So that same evening they showed on television footage in which tens of thousands of Sudanese were demonstrating to show their support for Numayri. However, it turned out that this footage was old and that it had been shot a few years earlier.

A prominent Sudanese personality, who is likely to play an important role during the next stage, told us that that deception completely exposed Numayri's regime to the activist forces and the people and helped bring about its bloodless downfall.

On the day following that act of deception, that is, on Wednesday morning, April 3, the "dual revolution" against Numayri was escalated. Last Saturday, Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab took over power "temporarily" on behalf of the army. He promised that conditions would be rectified and that government would be turned over to civilians in 6 months. He promised that a democratic system would be established and that he would get the country out of the extremely complicated crisis that it had reached.

The question is: Who is behind this coup and who is pulling the strings?

According to information available to informed Arab sources, there are two basic factors that induced Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab and his military group to carry out this coup. These are:

The first factor is that Siwar-al-Dhahab actually felt that the regime had gone as far as it could go after popular resentment against it had grown and the principals of that regime had failed to rally the necessary support for it.

The second factor is that Siwar-al-Dhahab's action relied on organized "political forces" that have not yet surfaced and whose identity has not yet become known. The only thing that is known about them is that they are in fact among Numayri's opposition forces. An informed Sudanese figure said that Siwar-al-Dhahab could not have carried out this coup simply because he felt that resentment against Numayri was growing. He said that Siwar-al-Dhahab's action must have been encouraged or backed by Sudanese political forces.

But what was the role that outside--Arab or foreign--forces played in this coup?

That is not yet clear, only 3 days after the coup. What is the actual role that was played by these outside forces--or by some of them--in bringing about Numayri's downfall? What is clear--and that became clear as a result of information obtained by AL-MUSTAQBAL from well-informed Arab and western sources--is that this coup was preceded by radical or strong changes in the positions of a number of countries and forces that were either important to Numayri or that were supporting him. This information made it clear that in the past few months Numayri had lost the backing and support of most of his friends. Meanwhile, his other friends remained neutral, waiting for a change to come about. AL-MUSTAQBAL'S information shows the following principal matters:

First, there was a significant change in Egypt's posture toward Numayri and his policy. Actually, some forces in the Sudanese opposition--especially al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's group--had been contacting the Egyptian regime secretly since the spring of 1984. Their aim was to persuade President Husni Mubarak to stop supporting Numayri. At first, these contacts were made with Egyptians who are close to Mubarak's regime. Then they were made with some of the principals of that regime, chiefly Dr Usamah al-Baz, the Egyptian president's adviser on political affairs; and Dr Butrus Ghali, Egypt's minister of state for foreign affairs. These secret contacts were made in London, Geneva, Paris and particularly in Cairo. These contacts created a tendency in the Egyptian regime, represented particularly by Usamah al-Baz and Butrus Ghali, that called for the gradual withdrawal of Egyptian support from Numayri and letting the opposition--especially that which is sympathetic to Cairo--take over matters. But Mubarak refused to heed that "advice" and maintained his support for Numayri throughout 1984.

During the summer and fall of 1984 Mubarak met several times with Numayri and senior Sudanese officials and asked them to "limit their cooperation" with the Muslim Brothers. He asked them not "to go overboard" in applying the Islamic code, and he also "advised" them on other matters. A well-informed Arab source affirms that the change in Mubarak's posture came about in January 1985. Several prominent Sudanese figures from the opposition had contacted the Egyptian president and asked him to intercede with the Sudanese president so he would not order the execution of 76-year old Mahmud Muhammad Taha, the leader of the Society of Muslim Brothers in Sudan. Mahmud Taha's crime was opposing the manner in which Islamic law was being put into practice by Numayri. Mubarak complied with these Sudanese figures' request, and he secretly sent to Khartoum a high-level Egyptian envoy who met with Numayri and asked him not to execute that old man. But Numayri turned down that request, and Mahmud Taha was hanged in mid January. After the execution Mubarak's posture toward Numayri changed. The Egyptian president made a secret decision, which was carried out in March, to withdraw the air defense force from Khartoum and Port Sudan. That was a signal to the Sudanese opposition that Egypt would not support Numayri if a coup that was not hostile to Cairo were to take place in Sudan.

Second, during the past few months there was a significant change in the positions of several Arab countries, especially in the Gulf area, toward Numayri. In this regard a prominent Arab related to us an incident of special significance. After Numayri began putting Islamic law into practice in Sudan in September 1983, he sent a high-level envoy to a prominent Arab country to ask for additional financial assistance. A senior official in that country told the Sudanese



envoy, "If President Numayri is putting Islamic law into practice because of his true faith, then we can only bless his actions and pray that God reward him well. But if he is putting Islamic law into practice to get additional financial assistance, then that is something that we neither like nor accept."

Actually several Arab countries did not conceal the fact that they were unhappy and dissatisfied with the way the Islamic code was being applied in Sudan. They were dissatisfied with Numayri's attempt to take advantage of the Islamic code to get rid of his opponents and achieve personal or opportunistic objectives. These countries' resentment for Numayri grew, although it remained unspoken, after his involvement in the operation to transport the Falashas (the Ethiopian Jews) to Israel. Therefore, it was no coincidence that Numayri complained in an interview with the press in Washington 3 days before his downfall, that the Arabs were not giving Sudan adequate financial assistance.

Third, there was a noticeable shift in the U. S. position toward Numayri. When we say there was a shift, we don't mean that the United States stopped supporting Numayri. The fact is that the Reagan administration maintained its support for Numayri until the last moment, not only because he had carried out many of its instructions and plans--and these included transporting the Ethiopian Jews to Israel; giving U.S. forces military facilities; and supporting the Camp David Accords--but also because he had recently followed some of its "advice." Numayri had followed U.S. advice and had given up his alliance with the Muslim Brothers; he had suspended the application of Islamic law; he had adopted austerity measures in the economy; and he had made preparations to talk with John Garang, the commander of the Sudanese Popular Army for the Liberation of Sudan, who controlled large parts of south Sudan. The United States advised Numayri to prepare for talks with Garang so that Chevron, a U.S. oil company, could have the opportunity to continue its oil exploration activities in southwest Sudan.

But the noticeable shift in the Reagan administration's position came about during the past few weeks when that administration began to listen in earnest to the opinions of a number of leading Sudanese citizens in the opposition, including al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, Dr Mansur Khalid and others. AL-MUSTAQBAL has learned that during the meetings that U.S. Vice President George Bush held with a number of representatives of Sudan's opposition when he was visiting Khartoum last March 5 and 6, Vice President Bush was asked to stop all kinds of U.S. aid to the regime except humanitarian aid. Representatives of Sudan's opposition also strongly criticized Numayri's practices. The fact that the United States was listening to the Sudanese opposition was a clear indication that the Reagan administration would be willing to work with a regime other than Numayri's, if such a regime should succeed in taking over power. Until that happens, however, Washington would continue at least its partial support for Numayri.

Naturally, the Sudanese opposition benefited from these shifts and changes in positions. It mobilized its forces to deal a fatal blow to Numayri's regime.

The question that is still being asked a few days after the coup is this:

Did Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab carry out his coup to comply with a request from some opposition forces, or did he coordinate the coup with them? Did he take advantage of the growing opposition to Numayri and carry out his coup?

Another question that is still being asked is this:

Did Siwar-al-Dhahab by carrying out this coup preempt another one that was being planned by a few young officers? [It is being said] that the aim of that coup was to bring about radical changes in Sudan's Arab and international alliances.

There is also a third question that is still being asked.

Is it true that Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab is merely a front for a group of prominent civilians who do not wish to reveal their true identities now?

The coup is still in its infancy, and its men are acting very cautiously and very mysteriously. They are giving hope to various parties, and they are making promises. They are not telling anyone no. Everyone, except Numayri and his men, thinks that something has been gained by the change that took place in Sudan. Nevertheless, we have to wait a while until the goals and identity of this coup become actually obvious.

#### Permanent Departure Anticipated

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 13 Apr 85 pp 19-21

[Article by As'ad Haydar]

[Text] It is being said in Khartoum that before his departure to Washington, the former president contacted the director of the Bank of Sudan and asked him to come up with 5 million dollars. Since that amount was not available at the bank, the bank director contacted other Sudanese banks, and he was thus able to get that sum together, which was given to Numayri.

AL-MUSTAQBAL was involved in a war in Sudan with Marshall Imam Ja'far Numayri, and it won that war.

AL-MUSTAQBAL did not negotiate or conclude a truce with Numayri. Every time objective conditions for a battle presented themselves--and Ja'far Numayri made such circumstances and opportunities available many times--AL-MUSTAQBAL entered the fray, maintaining the fervor of its position. While it condemned the regime on the one hand, it set forth the facts and figures of the political and economic situation in Sudan.

Ever since the first shot was fired AL-MUSTAQBAL used different kinds of heavy weapons in the war it fought with "the departing" president. It bombarded the Sudanese regime with all its force. Its editor-in-chief, Nabil Khuri, wrote an editorial, which appeared in issue number 260 on 13 February 1982, that was entitled, "Your Excellency, President Ja'far Numayri, Why Don't You Go Away?"

In that editorial Nabil Khuri wrote:

"Your excellency, President Numayri, we are asking you quite calmly, why don't you go away?

"You have ruled, and you have failed. Why don't you go away?"

"Under your administration nothing has been left in Sudan. Why don't you let someone else try to save what can be saved?

"You did not inherit a throne in Sudan, and you don't have a right to that position.

"Sudan is not a farm, nor is it a company whose stock you own.

"Sudan is an authentic Arab country. You ruled that country, and you betrayed the trust. Why then don't you go away?

"The time you've spent destroying Sudan's institutions has been long enough. It's as though you were engaged in some sort of vengeance. Why don't you go away?

"A few months ago you 'promised' the people of Sudan that you would go away. Demonstrations of joy almost became commonplace all over the country. Why didn't you keep your promise? Why?

"Go away, Mr President. Go away quietly so that the Sudanese people and Arabs can again have a sense of joy in their hearts.

"Go away, Mr President, and give these people the freedom to rule themselves.

"Go away, Mr President.

"The kingdom of God is vast and God is merciful. If you want to go to a place that is nearby, you may go to Cairo. The Shah was not dearer or more valuable than you are!

"If you want to go to a faraway place, you can go to Washington. Relax, no one will ask for you.

"But if you choose to go someplace that is not as close as Cairo and not as far away as Washington, you may go to Geneva. No one there will complain. It is said that you've had horse stables there for a long time.

"Choose the capital you would like to go to and go. Go there and stay there!

"Give the Sudanese people an opportunity to catch their breath, tend to their wounds and forget years of oppression and anguish.

"Don't fear for Sudan. It has a place in our hearts because, despite your administration, it represents the purity and serenity of the Arab conscience."

Nothing like this unequivocal, candid and harsh "opinion" had ever been directed by a magazine to a head of state who ruled the largest country in Africa. To avoid having this editorial appear to be an emotional outcry protesting what the Sudanese people have been suffering, it was incorporated into an extensive investigative article entitled, "12 Years of Numayri's Administration Took Sudan from a Crisis of Democracy to a Crisis of Hunger." This article, which appeared in the magazine under As'ad Haydar's byline, reviewed all the political, economic and humanitarian aspects of the situation in Sudan, especially since the

situation with Numayri had gone so far as the Omdurman fire. Numayri's practices had forced the kind, tranquil and peaceful people of Sudan, after many years of Ja'far Numayri's administration, to turn into malicious and combative people.

Despite the Omdurman fire and the arrests and physical eliminations that ensued, and all this is alien to the ancient people of Sudan, Numayri did not go away. The fact that Numayri did stay for 3 more years is due to Sudan's sensitive and significant geopolitical location. In this regard our colleague, Ibrahim Salamah, had anticipated in his own way these strategic issues by identifying this sensitive point in a lengthy article he wrote in issue number 115 dated 5 May 1979; that article was entitled, "Sudan after Uganda." In that article our colleague Ibrahim Salamah emphasized that "Sudan stood between becoming the bread basket of the world and being the object of the caprices of the superpowers." In the same article Ibrahim Salamah reviewed the situation in Sudan and emphasized the fact that Sudan was surrounded by eight countries. Therefore, Numayri's downfall and departure would be largely linked to the international conflict. And that is actually what happened.

It must be said in all fairness that Ja'far Numayri knew how to take advantage of this sensitive situation. He turned Sudan into an impregnable fortress for the West--for the United States in particular--and he totally subordinated his regime to Washington's wishes. His association with the United States was preceded by his total embrace of Anwar al-Sadat's regime, and that had strengthened his position militarily: some of the Egyptian troops that had been sent to Sudan to prepare for war with Israel changed their roles to that of protecting the regime.

Since 1982, that is, since the first shot was fired in the war between AL-MUSTAQBAL and Ja'far Numayri's regime, the steps taken by that regime have been noted. Although its downfall came as no surprise, the effect of that downfall was far-reaching. Because the list of battles we fought with the regime is a lengthy one, we will mention only the most prominent of them.

On 16 March 1984, the day Omdurman was shelled, we wrote an investigative article entitled, "Who Shelled Omdurman?" in which we made it clear that Numayri himself was behind the operation. In that article, where the charges appeared to be vehement, it was stated that "The emergence of an armed movement in the south that professes to be progressive, to favor unity and to be allied with a regime like Merriam's would call upon Numayri to act wisely and to carry out several movements and operations so that he can draw international and regional attention to himself in an obvious step to advance his flight."

Marshall Numayri actually continued to advance his flight. He glorified himself by declaring himself an imam; he mastered the skills of prayer and addressing groups of people; and he celebrated in public the destruction of warehouses for storing alcoholic beverages. The hands and feet of a few thieves who stole because they were hungry were cut while his relatives and close associates lined their pockets and stole the funds of the Sudanese people.

Although our colleague Ahmad Baha'-al-Din is known for his composure and for [his ability to] choose his words very carefully, he was unable to exercise control over what he wrote when he saw the venerable 80-year old man, the late

Mahmud Muhammad Taha, hanging from the scaffold. In issue number 414, which came out on 26 January 1985, he wrote an article entitled, "Al-Hajja al-Jadid fi al-Khartoum" ["The New al-Hajja in Khartoum"--a reference to the Umayyad viceroy of Iraq known for his severe methods]. This article whose title is indicative of its substance may be one of the most virulent articles that our colleague Baha'-al-Din ever wrote.

Baha'-al-Din wrote: "The regime in Khartoum may have thought that winning a small battle in the yard of Khartoum Prison was easier than winning a battle in the war in south Sudan.

"The regime may have thought that Mahmud Taha's meager writings and words posed a threat to Islam and Sudan and that that threat was more dangerous than that of the south's secession and the famine that is advancing from the east and west.

"Anyone who saw Mahmud Taha's head in the noose ought to thank God for finding a piece of bread to alleviate the pangs of hunger.

"The new inquisition thought that a few heads were being held rather high and that it was time to cut them off. That was how Numayri could strengthen his regime, and that is why he did what he did.

"Let me ask a simple question: Is there any group in Sudan, from the ultra right to the ultra left and from the far north to the far south, whose relationship with Numayri is not burdened by a legacy of bloodshed?

"God is the Only Mighty and Powerful One!"

After committing this crime, Numayri struck a blow to his former allies, the Muslim Brothers, in an attempt to establish balance in the country. It was then that AL-MUSTAQBAL deduced from the principles of the games that nations play in the Horn of Africa region that the beginning of the end for the Sudanese regime was at hand. The magazine came out with a cover story entitled, "Al-Rahil" [The Departing President] in issue number 419, dated 2 March 1985.

In that investigative article AL-MUSTAQBAL revealed the secrets of the conversation that took place between President Husni Mubarak and one of the principal figures in the Sudanese opposition--details of that conversation were confirmed 1 month after they were revealed. Then the article went on to explain how the balance in the game that nations play had turned against Numayri and that his problems had overshadowed his importance.

The article stated, "But it seems that Washington has recently become weary of its support for Numayri, just as Cairo has become impatient with him. According to a senior Egyptian official, Numayri, who had been a burden on Sudan only, has turned into a domestic problem in Egypt. Washington's weariness of the Khartoum regime is due to the fact that the financial aid that Washington gave that regime did not help improve conditions in Sudan. Instead, the aid made matters worse. But Egypt was greatly embarrassed by Numayri's alliance with the Muslim Brothers and then his declaration of himself imam. Numayri did that while Egypt was trying very hard to control the religious movement in Egypt. It was the deteriorating conditions in Sudan that forced Washington to suspend its financial aid first and then to restore that aid on the same day. Also, Egypt first

announced that it would withdraw its air defense forces from Khartoum. Then in a matter of 24 hours it announced that it had withdrawn one small unit and not all the troops. There were many reasons for these developments: some of them had been unforeseen, and some were old, but they all worked together as a result of conditions in the Horn of Africa area itself overlapping."

The article affirmed that despite the tenuous position of the Sudanese army, there was nothing to prevent a change from being carried out by army officers.

"A Sudanese politician said, 'This situation within the army, coupled with the gloomy economic situation and the fear of having to face up to doing something about the application of Islamic law have weakened the tendency that Sudanese officers may have to take over power. There are no incentives for them in that prospect. But that does not preclude the possibility that an officer who does not view seizing power as an attempt to acquire wealth may come forward. He would then carry out the task that he believes his conscience and his love for Sudan have entrusted him with.'"

The article ended by affirming that "the departing president" would go away and that an image of his replacement would begin to take shape.

Two sides of the same Sudanese currency: The first side has the detailed picture of "the departing president" with all the features of his, Numayri's, face; the second side has the picture of Numayri's replacement, whose facial features are not yet clear. At any rate that picture is in the final stage of being developed.

Before the zero hour and a few days before "the departing president's" departure we wrote in AL-MUSTAQBAL on 6 May 1985, "Numayri may come to Egypt, and he may like to stay there. He would be comfortable there, and everyone would be relieved. He would be doing exactly what the Shah of Iran did before him!"

And that is actually what happened.

And this is what we wrote about his successor, Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman Siwar-al-Dhahab, whose name had been hitherto unknown: "Numayri completed this campaign by arranging conditions in the army. He gave up the Ministry of Defense to an unknown officer, Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab, who may turn out to be the person who can control the disgruntled army."

This is AL-MUSTAQBAL's story with "the departing president," Ja'far Numayri, the president who "left the country and did not come back." As to how he left the country and what happened after that, that is another story.

"He bowed his head and turned around. President Mubarak, who was obviously embarrassed, helped him until they reached the helicopter. That is what "the departing president," Ja'far Numayri did when the pilot of his private airplane informed him that a coup had been carried out by Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman Siwar-al-Dhahab. Before he was convinced that his role had come to an end and that he had been retired--wasn't it enough that he was not in Khartoum when the coup was carried and that he was not put on trial to receive the punishment he deserves?--he tried to restore his former role by going to a military base near

Khartoum to counter the coup's Bulletin Number One with another bulletin. But Numayri had lost "the good luck" that he had often referred to each time he escaped from a coup--the number of coups is exactly that of the number of years he spent in power. "The good luck" he lost manifested itself in the fact that his role came to an end "at the last moment of that drama." When that moment came and the curtain fell, it fell that time not on a new act in the drama, but on the entire drama itself.

Numayri turned from embracing Nasirism--he wept like a child for 'Abd-al-Nasir--to embracing al-Sadat, whom he mourned the way that one who knows the meaning of the death of a strong ally would. He then embraced progressive postures and allied himself with communists and with Moscow. He also embraced "faith" and allied himself with the Muslim Brothers and with Washington. Numayri concluded his role as president by evacuating the Falashas via Brussels first and then directly on CIA airplanes at a subsequent stage. With the skill of a puppeteer Washington revealed Numayri's role in evacuating the Falashas, particularly in the second stage of that evacuation.

After pulling all the strings, Washington allowed Numayri to come to Washington to demonstrate his obedience. In receiving him Washington knew that "the lemon" of the African continent had dried up and become useless. That lack of moisture was not attributable to divine will, as was the case with the drought, but rather to his wish to associate himself with Washington until the very last moment. Therefore, Washington gave Numayri a one-way ticket to Washington. Thus, he left the country and did not come back.

This is the question: Did Numayri know that his fate was going to be like that of the Shah of Iran? Did he know that he would leave the country and not return?

Based on statements made by Sudanese circles Numayri sensed that the hour of his end was approaching, and this is what he did in an attempt to ensure his future:

--He awakened the director of the Central Bank on the eve of his departure and asked him to provide 5 million dollars in cash. When the director of the Sudanese bank informed Numayri's aides that that sum was not available, those aides woke up various bank directors who worked until that sum was collected.

--Numayri took most of his relatives and aides with him in the delegation that accompanied him on his "fortunate trip."

Regardless how precise and accurate that story is, the fact that neither Cairo nor Washington was taken by surprise by what happened in Khartoum clarifies some aspects of the picture.

What matters in everything that is happening now in Sudan is this: What will happen after Numayri?

What will happen in Sudan is inseparable from what has happened there. Numayri has left a hole in what was to become the bread basket of the continent, and he has stripped that bread basket of all its reserves. We did refer several times in the past to how much the economic situation in Sudan had deteriorated. An example of that lies in the fact that in 1977 the Sudanese pound was worth 3

dollars. Now, however, 1 dollar is worth 3 Sudanese pounds. We had also referred in the past to the country's fragmented political condition. That was the result of the fact that opposition forces were fragmented and their goals conflicted with each other. Finally, there was the situation in the south. It was impossible to establish stability in Sudan without taking into account the demands of Sudan's Liberation Army. In addition to all that, Numayri had tied Sudan's fortunes so closely to "integration" with Egypt that he became involved in a conflict with his other strong neighbor, Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi. Although he was in an area that may be described as "the eye of the storm," Numayri had also tied Sudan's fortunes to the Americans.

Therefore any question about Sudan's future must be accompanied by a basic question: What will be the new regime's domestic and international policy? To put it more clearly, what are the political and economic choices that the regime will make? Will it continue Numayri's liberalization policy? Will it reorganize the economy, and if it does, what standards will be used? Although it may be easy to a certain extent to resolve that situation by getting extensive Arab or international aid, the principal problem that will restrict the new regime's choices--whether or not Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab is the real leader or a front for a group of officers whose identity is still unknown--is the problem of the south.

The reason why the new regime's choices will be restricted is that the demands of Sudan's Liberation Army are not as regional as they were when that army took its first action. In fact, that army's demands now pertain to all of Sudan; they are also clearly progressive and socialist. What will the new regime do with these demands? If it chooses to continue tying its fortunes to Washington on all levels, Sudan will appear to be far away from a solution. But if it chooses to come closer to the demands of Sudan's Liberation Army, the new regime will have to burn a few of its bridges to Washington. Thus, Sudan's Liberation Army would continue to keep south Sudan an explosive issue that is likely to be set off at any moment, depending on the new choices made by the new regime, whether that regime continues to be headed by Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab or someone else.

To avoid concentrating on the complexity of the situation in south Sudan, we cannot rule out the role of opposition parties and their ability to influence public opinion in Sudan, no matter how divided they are. Therefore, if the new regime does not want to rule by force and oppression--and this is what it tried to make clear--it will have to come to an understanding with some of these forces. Accordingly, it will have to pay the price for such an understanding in new political and economic positions.

So far Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab has been trying to maintain a delicate balance.

Regionally, he placed emphasis on "the close and distinguished relations with Cairo," but he made no references to integration with Egypt, and he did not refrain from communicating with Col al-Qadhdhafi, who expressed his joy immediately after Numayri's departure.

Internationally, Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab emphasized Sudan's "close relations with Washington," but he also affirmed Sudan's commitment to a non-aligned policy, and he thus satisfied Moscow.



Numayri's advent into power marked the beginning of a new stage in the history of the Arab homeland. Will his departure from Sudan mark a new beginning also?

#### Uncertainties Explained

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 13 Apr 85 p 21

[Text] "We are ready. As soon as the airports are reopened, we will exchange messages. And communications between us will continue until the messages arrive." That is what Cairo said 2 days after the coup in Sudan whose form or timing came as no surprise. Because the messengers are still waiting, the distance between Cairo and Khartoum is still vast. Cairo has not received a single statement from Khartoum's new leaders, nor has Khartoum until this writing received from Cairo official recognition of the new coup in Sudan.

On the other hand, Khartoum did talk about the common destiny it shared with Egypt and about the effort to develop advanced relations with it. However, there was no mention of the integration pact. In fact, all the political organizations that are considered part of the integration establishment with Egypt were unilaterally dissolved without checking with Cairo.

At present, Cairo intends to recognize the new regime, but it is giving itself an opportunity to consider the matter from all aspects. It neither wishes nor wants to enter a recognition race with the People's Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. However, Cairo must be thinking that a new alliance between Sudan and Libya could materialize and that such an alliance could become burdensome. Cairo is also watching the situation in Sudan carefully and cautiously because Sudan is going through a critical and decisive period; it is now in a bottleneck.

Last Saturday morning news of the coup was not new. An airplane en route to Khartoum with Sudan's minister of agriculture on board, who was returning to the Sudanese capital from a trip to Europe, returned to Cairo Airport. Later, an Egyptian airplane en route to Nairobi changed its course at the request of the Sudanese so as not to fly in Sudan's air space.

Because Cairo knew in advance what was being planned in Sudan, President Mubarak went to Cairo International Airport at 10:30 a.m. last Saturday. He was accompanied by Kamal Hasan 'Ali and Field Marshal 'Abd-al-Halim Abu Ghazalah only. No preparations had been made for any official reception. The Sudanese presidential airplane with President Numayri on board arrived, and President Numayri became a former president at 10:55 a.m. The two presidents met, and Numayri found out what had happened in Khartoum.

While Cairo was receiving Numayri, about 400 Sudanese students assembled on Saturday and Sunday in front of the Embassy of Sudan in Cairo. No one from Egyptian security thwarted them. They assembled in front of the embassy and demonstrated to show their support for the new regime in Sudan. Also all of Egypt's political parties declared their full support for the new situation in Sudan, and a few leaders of these parties sent cables of support to the leader of the new coup in Sudan.

President Husni Mubarak convened a high-level political meeting that was attended by the principals of his state. Then he met with the editors-in-chief of Egyptian newspapers in an information sharing session in which he spoke about the country's position toward events in Sudan. Egypt's position was articulated in official statements made by Dr Usamah al-Baz, by Mr Kamal Hasan 'Ali and then by Dr 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid. There was a consensus in all these statements that Egypt's security was inseparable from Sudan's and that defending Sudan was an integral part of defending Egypt. Egypt said it would not allow any foreign intervention in Sudan to take place regardless of its source and that it was cooperating fully with the new government in Sudan. Egypt also said that it would not assume the position of one who has been entrusted with the task of looking after Sudan's affairs. It is known that relations have been cool between the two countries in recent months. Numayri blamed Egypt for communicating with the Sudanese opposition behind his back, and Egypt blamed Numayri for his unilateral decisions to apply the Islamic code without checking with it. Cairo feared that a people's Islamic republic like Iran's might be declared on the 16th anniversary of Numayri's coming into power.

But what did happen in Khartoum, that city which is close to Egypt? All telecommunications between the two countries were interrupted. It seems that a group of military men, who with Gen Siwar-al-Dhahab make up the nucleus of the new leadership, had spent two difficult days engaged in discussions and in the task of making choices before the idea for the coup took hold. The choice was difficult and arduous. They were either to go into the streets to stand with Numayri against the Sudanese people, or they would stand with the Sudanese people against Numayri and his system. The choice was obvious: they would stand with the Sudanese people against Numayri who, it was said, had suffered a heart attack. It was also said that he had been taken to the armed forces hospital in al-Ma'adi, but that news report was denied immediately.

On the other hand the new regime in Sudan arrested 'Ali Mustafa Numayri, President Ja'far Numayri's brother and the director of the Wad Numayri Society. Fathiyah Khalil, one of Numayri's relatives, was also arrested.

A search is also underway for Gen 'Umar al-Tayyib, Numayri's vice president and the official who was responsible for national security. It seems that the matter of arresting him has become a matter of paramount importance after a few individuals in the Central Security Forces who served under him refused to comply with the decision to disband those forces.

Egypt under Mubarak is not what it was under al-Sadat. Therefore, Cairo will not repeat what happened in 1971. Instead, it will let the Sudanese people do what they think would serve the interests of their country.

8592

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

TRADE PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH GDR

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 10 Feb 85 p 13

[Text]

A PROTOCOL signed yesterday between the Dubai Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Foreign Trade Chamber of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) envisages greater trade and improved economic relations between the UAE and East Germany.

The protocol was signed on behalf of the two organisations by their presidents, Mr Saeed Juma Al Nabooda and Mr Hans Lemnitzer, at a largely attended meeting of businessmen at the Dubai chamber.

This is the first protocol signed between the representative organisation of local businessmen and a socialist country and represents a turning point in the East Bloc's efforts to improve economic links with this region.

In 1983, a team led by Mr Nabooda visited several East European states in response to initiatives by chambers in these states to step up economic cooperation.

Shortly after the signing ceremony, UAE Minister for Communication, Mo-

ammed Saeed Al Mulla, opened a six-day exhibition of East German products in the chamber's exhibition hall.

According to terms of the protocol, the two chambers will henceforth exchange trade information and hold regular meetings at various levels. They will acquaint each other with their export potentials and the possibility of industrial cooperation.

Also under review will be the possibility of joint business in third countries and direct marketing of their products. The protocol entails assistance by the two organisations in obtaining entry visas to each other's businessmen and enhanced participation in trade fairs, symposia and similar events. Particular attention will be paid to participation in the Leipzig spring and autumn fairs and in the various exhibitions held in Dubai.

In a brief address before the signing ceremony, Mr Nabooda hoped that Mr Lemnitzer's visit to the UAE will "open new horizons of cooperation between our two friendly countries."

He pointed out that although Dubai's imports from GDR rose from Dh13 million in 1980 to Dh22 million in 1982

and to Dh61 million in 1983 'due to certain contracts', there was a decline last year.

During the first six months for 1984, Dubai imported goods worth just Dh10.6 million from East Germany.

Twelve foreign trade enterprises in East Germany are taking part in the display, the third to be organised by that country.

These include exporters of power generation and transmission equipment, electronic goods, two-wheelers, silo equipment and advanced agricultural implements and harbour cranes.

An equal emphasis has been laid on consumer goods this time and exhibits include carpets, porcelain, cutglass textiles and toys. Also on show are models of East German projects undertaken in other Arab countries, such as a bridge construction in Aden and steel construction for a power station in Kuwait.

Among the attractions at the opening ceremony yesterday was the model of a mosque offered for construction by an agency for project exports. Officials of the GDR Board of Foreign Trade will be present at the exhibition to answer trade enquiries.

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

POLLUTION PROBLEM IN GULF

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 10 Feb 85 p 4

[Text]

DOHA—"The pollution of Gulf waters is like a sword dangling on our heads, it could strike any moment," says Dr Abdul Rahman Abdullah Al Awadi, Kuwait Minister of Health.

Dr Awadi is the executive director of the Regional Organisation for the Protection of Marine Environment (Ropme), which has all the coastal states, including Iran, as members.

He was recently on a visit to Doha and took time off his busy schedule to talk to newsmen. He said between 10,000 and 15,000 barrels of waste oil a day is being dumped in the Gulf waters, which is a matter of deep concern. "And God help us if a VLCC gets into trouble and has to unload its crude. It is a sword dangling on our heads."

Dr Awadi said the main source of pollution these days was indiscriminate discharge by tankers of ballast water, mixed with oil. "Considering the high volume of tanker traffic we have, it adds up to a good deal.

The other source are refineries on the coast, leaks and the like. But we must tackle this ballast problem before everything else."

He said while there were laws against such discharge, it was difficult to implement them efficiently. Other steps, like creating ballast reception facilities at the ports, had to be considered.

The Ropme is on the job, "but

we need another four to five years to make it work properly." It was not just creating port facilities that would help, one had to plan mobile reception vessels and to prevent any delay for the ships. "Our steps should not interfere with the flow of the traffic," he added.

The Gulf states have set up an organisation to watch and mobilise all available resources when there is a threat of pollution. The centre is called Marine Emergency Mutual Aid Centre (Mimac) and is part of the Kuwait-based Ropme. The Mimac itself is based in Bahrain. What it can do now is to mobilise oil skimmers from member countries, arrange for salvage, act as an information centre and keep in touch with ships in distress. Coastal states have oil repellants and other such facilities to keep coastal waters clean. "But we need much more than that and we are studying how best to go about it," Dr Awadi said.

Experts from Japan, Mexico and the Netherlands have been contacted on how to prevent oil pollution of the waters without interfering with the traffic. All these countries face similar problems and have managed to keep the waters clean.

Until recently, Dr Awadi said, contracts with loading tankers did not specify compensation for pollution. In future, contracts would have to state what risk the tankers would run if they were to violate pollution laws on the high seas.

"But no matter what laws and

contracts we have, we must be able to prevent the damage before it occurs. That is more important than getting compensation or cleaning-up after the leak."

He said the Ropme needed funds for taking such a collective action. But any expenditure on creating more facilities would be recovered within a few years. International sea laws were also getting to be more stringent and their application in the Gulf would help a good deal.

Talking of health problems in the Gulf region, Dr Awadi said some kind of payment for medical services would become inevitable in all the states, on the lines of the UAE. "What we are trying to do in Kuwait is to create a compulsory health insurance scheme. We then don't have to ask the patient to pay when he visits the hospital. I think the insurance scheme will work out better than collecting a fee whenever someone visits a hospital."

A peculiar feature of the Gulf was that the population was being exposed not only to the typical problems of a developing country, like malnutrition and diarrhoea but also those of highly advanced countries like hypertension, cardiac problems, stress and drug addiction.

"We have to have a plan to prevent this state of affairs. These modern-day diseases are far too expensive and damaging, least of all for us who still have to catch up."

Like pollution, health care also needs to be planned jointly and with the long term in view, he argues.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

1984 OIL EXPLORATION REPORT

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 20 Mar 85 p 1

[Text]

DUBAI Petroleum Company (DPC) last year drilled 21 new development wells and worked over 10 of its existing wells in the four oilfields it operates in concessions offshore Dubai.

The company's annual report issued yesterday described 1984 as a "period of record construction and drilling activity". The work programme continued to be "ambitious", with record drilling and construction scheduled for 1985.

Exploration efforts were of prime importance in last year's drilling programme, said the report. One exploratory well, Beta-1, was completed while another prospect, Theta-2, was drilled to total depth at the year's end with testing to follow.

Five of the new wells were drilled in Fateh, the biggest and oldest of the four DPC oilfields. Three of these were from a new tripod at 'G' location installed in late 1983. A new gas pipeline from 'P' to 'C' locations was also installed in 1984.

The field has been continuously developed since its discovery in 1966, and currently it has 29 platforms, 106 active wells, gas lift compression facilities, 88 miles of gathering and distribution lines and 36 miles of power and communication cables. The field has 2.34 million barrels of oil storage capacity including the unique 'khazzans'.

Seven new wells were drilled in Southwest Fateh, the second largest of DPC's fields, discovered in November 1970. A production platform was installed during the year along with a new Central Production Facility (CP-3) platform. This platform which is expected to become operational this year, will not contain any wells but will serve as a riser to collect and process future production from other platforms in the field. Southwest Fateh now has 14 platforms and 63 active wells. Its output is transferred by pipeline to the Fateh field for storage and export.

Seven new wells were also drilled in Falah Field which has two platforms, 14 active and 48 miles of oil and gas lines. Work began in 1984 for fabrication and installation of an additional platform in the field.

Rashid Field, the smallest, has one production platform with eight wells—five of these of DPC while three are Dugas gas wells. Last year two wells were drilled to new locations to optimise production rates.

The annual report said a new DPC offshore supply base and support facilities were completed and became operational at Jebel Ali in July last year.

DPC manpower stood at 963 at the end of the year. Twelve per cent of its staff are UAE nationals, including six nationals now engaged in higher studies abroad. Recruitment and training of UAE nationals continued to be a major objective in 1984, the report said.

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UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

AGRICULTURE ACHIEVEMENTS SURVEYED

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 28 Feb 85 Supplement p 1

[Article by Ali Ishratil]

[Text]

**Government subsidies and incentives to farmers have yielded in a short time large surpluses in several crops. The effort now is to educate farmers to diversify their crops and to use more modern farming and irrigation techniques. The government's extension units all over the country are spreading the message through demonstration plots and on-site advice on crops, irrigation techniques and pesticides**

AGRICULTURAL sector in the UAE, generously funded by the government over the last nine years, has reached a stage where over 40 per cent of the country's annual food consumption is produced locally.

Local catch of fish, estimated at 70,000 tons a year, meets 91 per cent of the demand while vegetable crops estimated at 300,000 tons a year supply 51 per cent of the local consumption.

In milk and dairy products, eggs, mutton, chicken, fruits and fodder the local output ranges between 8 and 33 per cent of the country's requirements.

Inputs that have helped the

country reach this level of production include subsidised fishing boats, developed land, fertiliser, manpower costs and continuous advice through government-appointed experts. The whole effort is backed by a chain of research stations working to ensure the adoption of the most proper farming practices and techniques.

All these inputs provided generously over the years were aimed at wooing larger number of the local population toward agriculture.

All these inputs provided generously over the years aimed at securing food supplies from within the country and giving the nomadic people a settled way of

life. Over 11,000 people responded to the invitation. Half of them have made farming their mainstay; the other half pursue agriculture as an additional source of income.

The average farm's size is one hectare or ten donums which is cultivated by means of pumping underground water sources and tended by hired expatriate farmhands.

The government subsidy scheme continues but with the proviso that the farmers choosing to disregard government advice shall cease to benefit from its provisions. The measure had become necessary in view of the fact that a majority of the farmers were opting for a handful of particular crops.

This has led to a situation where five main vegetable crops bearing fruit during the October-to-June season account for over 80 per cent of the vegetable production. Even for these crops the country imports most of its requirements during summer.

Attempts to correct this imbalance are only now gaining acceptance. The first measure is introduction of covered agriculture. The Ministry's research station at Dig Dagga has come up with a low-cost model of a plastic tunnel which can be erected with little material. Such tunnels, costing no more than Dh3,500 and covering about 200 sq. metres, can produce vegetables even when the season for field cultivation is over.

There has been a marked increase in the number of such covered houses. At the end of 1983 their number was estimated at 1,071. Other benefits of plastic houses include the possibility of growing more than one crop in a season, a higher yield, conservation of water resources and the option to use them as nurseries before planting in open fields.

Yet another effort pursued vigorously by the ministry is propagation of other crops such as onions and potatoes. Local production of potatoes accounts for no more than 10 per cent of the demand, leading to monthly imports to the tune of 1,500 to 1,800 tons. For onions the monthly imports range between 4,000 and 5,000 tons, with local production accounting for no more than 11 per cent.

The ministry's 22 extension units located in all the main agricultural regions of the country

have been spreading the message through demonstration plots for these crops at the farmers' fields. Over 650 such demonstration plots where the ministry's extension officers undertake all the operations were carried out in one year. These demonstrations are done in different seasons and at different locations so the farmers may see for themselves the validity of the advice.

To meet the shortage of onions and potatoes, the ministry had thought of going into commercial production on its own. For this, a feasibility study was conducted for a proposed farm of 1,600 donums (160 hectares). While the decision to go ahead on this is still awaited, the ministry sparing no effort to popularise onion and potato cultivation by the farmers. While other seeds are supplied at half price, potato and onion cultivators are encouraged with much lower prices.

A brief rundown of the agricultural inputs and services supplied in one year is illustrative. Visits to farmers' fields by agricultural extension workers: 24,744. Acreage ploughed by the ministry's tractors totalled 510,480 donums working a total of 124,962 hours. Pesticides sprayed at farms covered 39,961 donums, powder pesticides given to farmers 26,875kg, liquid pesticides 39,867 litres, organic fertiliser provided to farmers 40,021 bags of 25kg each, green fertiliser supplied to farmers 10,933 bags, seeds distributed 13,319kg, irrigation machines supplied 184 and pumps supplied 6,873.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

WATER USE FOR AGRICULTURE EXPANDED

Dubayy KHALEEJ TIMES in English 28 Feb 85 Supplement p 2

[Article by Ali Ishratil]

[Text]

IN THE U.A.E the most severe constraint to expansion of agricultural activity is the availability of water.

The management of underground water resources and conserving every drop of the erratic rains is a serious concern at the Ministry of Agriculture.

In the last decade, the cultivated area has increased over 600 per cent most of which has been on the basis of pumping out underground reserves. While in most places the underground level has dropped; in a few areas, the wells have dried up totally. In the coastal regions where agricultural areas are near the sea, pumping has resulted in a marked deterioration in the quality of the water.

The maximum drop in the water level during the past eight years recorded by the ministry is 33 feet. On the eastern coast, however, the underground level has shown a steady increase to slightly above the mean of eight years ago, "clearly indicating a seepage of sea water," say the experts at the ministry. The areas most affected by this depletion are

Hamraniya, Dhaidh, Al Ain and Muzairah in Masfut.

The Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries maintains a large network of observation wells from Ras Al Khaimah to Al Ain. These wells provide statistical information on the changes in underground water storage. This data is then investigated in relation to the agricultural activity in the region leading to crucial decisions for the water management policy.

Prior to 1976 when the ministry was formed, 80 observation wells extending from Ras Al Khaimah to Al Ain were operated by the Trucial Coast Council. The periodic monitoring of these wells had to be discontinued in 1980 because most of the wells which were on private farms had either caved in or had dried up.

The ministry has also installed automatic water level recorders at 34 locations. These recorders provide continuous readings of the fluctuations on an hourly and monthly basis. More automatic recorders are planned to be installed.

Two hundred additional observation wells will shortly be

included in the monitoring network. With all water points of the network coordinated with the mean sea level and the hydrographs to be prepared with these are expected to provide precise information on water availability.

Another important water conservation activity conducted by the ministry is the construction of flood water dams. So far four dams have been built in the wadis of Bih, Ham, Idhn and Gulfa. About 15 million cubic feet of water will be conserved annually with these dams.

Nine other wadis with the most potential for conserving water flows have been identified. These are: Wadi Baseerah (capacity 4 million cubic metres a year), Wadi Tawlyan (14 mcmy), Wadi Sifunie Ashwani (2 mcmy), Wadi Naqab (3.5 mcmy), Wadi Wurrayah (2 mcmy), Wadi Zikt (3 mcmy), Wadi Ghor (4 mcmy), Wadi Hadaf (2 mcmy), Wadi Koub (3 mcmy).

The site investigations and preliminary designs for dams in these wadis have already been completed.



AFGHANISTAN

400 SOVIETS, AFGHANS REPORTEDLY KILLED IN BLAST

Penang THE STAR in English 29 Mar 85 p 16

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Thurs. — A Pakistan-based Afghan resistance group said today that more than 400 Soviet and Afghan troops were killed when a resistance-planted time bomb blew up bomb-laden lorries in northern Afghanistan.

There was no immediate independent confirmation of the report from the Jamiat Islami group, which said the bomb exploded on Saturday at the village of Ollang near Salang Pass, about 110km north of the capital of Kabul.

A Jamiat spokesman said the report of the blasts was contained in a letter received yesterday in Peshawar, capital of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province, from Jamiat commander Ahmad Shah Masood, who operates in the strategic Panjsher Valley near Salang.

Spokesman Masood Khalili quoted the letter as saying about 300 armoured vehicles accompanying a military convoy, including tanks, were destroyed by the explosions from 82 lorries full of aircraft bombs.

The dead included 280 Soviet and 120 Afghan troops, he said. Among the victims were eight high-ranking Soviet officers. — Reuter.

CSO: 4600/406

AFGHANISTAN

SOVIETS REPORTEDLY MINE AFGHAN ORCHARDS

Fort Moresby PAPUA NEW GUINEA POST COURIER in English 2 Apr 85 p 6

[Text] Islamabad: Soviet soldiers have found a new way of hitting back at Afghan rebels--mining the country's vast orchards.

The mines have killed up to 50 people since mid-March — and condemned the Afghan economy to ruin, guerrilla sources said in Pakistan's capital.

The mines were strewn along orchard paths to block rebel attacks on Kandahar city or the US-built airport nearby, the sources said.

Moslem rebels, who control about three-quarters of Kandahar, have recently stepped up rocket attacks on the airport, now the largest Soviet airbase in south eastern Afghanistan.

Western diplomats say several squadrons of Soviet Mig-23 and Mig-25 fighter planes are stationed there.

Rebel sources in Quetta, only 200km from Kandahar, say Soviet strength at the airport has been boosted recently from 8000 to more than 10,000 men.

The victims were mostly peasants from fruit-growing villages south of Afghanistan's second-largest city.

The sources said the mining would effectively destroy this year's fruit crop, one of the country's leading export items.

The rebel sources said a large Soviet and Afghan force entered the orchard belt on March 12.

They forced some residents to point out the most frequently-used orchard paths, which they studded with butterfly wire-tripped and heavy detonator mines, the sources said. The operation lasted three days.

"Now the Mujahideen cannot hide there, the farmers cannot enter to irrigate their orchards, the people cannot even go in to pick up their dead relatives," one exiled Afghan said.

CSO: 4600/407

AFGHANISTAN

COUNCILS SET UP TO ACCELERATE LAND REFORM

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 30 Mar 85 p 4

[Text] Lashkargah (BIA)--In continuation of the second phase of the democratic land and water reforms, 376 land ownership documents were given to the landless peasants and petty land holders in the Nadali and Ghrishk districts and in Lashrishk districts and in Lashkargah city.

A spokesman of the directorate of the democratic land and water reforms of the province said: "Around 4,000 land ownership deeds were distributed an area of around 46,700 jeribs of land (5 jeribs equal one hectare) was classified, during the last Afghan year ended March 20, 1985."

The spokesman added "over 14,000 jeribs land was distributed to some 159 peasant families which shows an increment of 3500 land ownership documents over the year 1362."

Therefore, the plan of the year 1362 in the province has been implemented by 109 percent.

According to another dispatch, 3400 landless peasant and petty landless peasant and petty land holders of the Pashtun Koat, Dawlat Abad and Andkhol districts of Fariab province were given land ownership documents during last Afghan year.

A spokesman of the directorate of the democratic land and water reforms of the province said: "More than 75,000 jeribs of land of peasants and orchardists of the province was classified and 235 jeribs of first grade land was freely given to peasant families.

The spokesman added in order to accelerate the process of the land reforms, 46 peasant councils were set up in the center and other parts of the province during the said period.

CSO: 4600/409

AFGHANISTAN

SHELTER FOR PEOPLE AMONG GOVERNMENT'S MAJOR TASKS

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 2 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] Kabul (BIA)--Major successes were achieved in completing a number of developmental projects in Afghanistan in the last Afghan year ended on March 20. Ministry of Public Works contributed much to the completion of these public utility projects.

During the last Afghan year, the ministry continued work on 81 construction projects, while it conducted preliminary project planning for 72 projects. These construction projects by the ministry included 10 residential projects, 13 road and airport construction projects, nine industrial projects and 49 projects of public services.

The ministry has overfulfilled its plan by 10 percent, or in other words, 23 percent more than in the preceding year.

Of the said construction projects, 25 projects built at a cost of a total of over two billion Afghanis had already been commissioned by the end of last Afghan year.

In order to welcome the 20th founding anniversary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the workers and employees of Public Health Ministry completed the construction of 16 projects ahead of schedule.

On the eve of this anniversary the House-building Enterprise under the Ministry of Public Works also undertook the construction of 11 projects at a cost of 1,421 million Afghanis. These projects included the residential project of third part of Parwan, the hostel of the Police Academy, dormitory of Bagrami Textile Mills, administrative blocs and hostel of Jangalak factories, the poultry farm for Afghan CART Company, the dormitory for the workers of the department of mechanized agriculture, project of building health centres and the office of the district administrator of Panjshir. Some of these projects have been completed while the remaining are under construction.

In the meanwhile, the workers and employees of Banai Construction Unit of the Ministry completed 10 projects in accordance with the pledge given by them on the eve of the party's founding anniversary. These projects include transport services station of Dashti Chamtala, the girls' hostel of the Kabul University, the Bagrami kiln, industrial establishments of road and airport construction, first section of 200-bed hospital of Herat, first part of linen textile mills of Herat and its dormitory, olive processing project of Nangarhar and some other big and small projects.

Construction of residential buildings and provision of shelter for our working people who had suffered for years due to the problem of shelter among the major tasks being tackled by our revolutionary party and state. Here the role played by housing prefabrication complex of Kabul in building the residential apartments houses is worth mentioning.

This complex fulfilled its plan for the year 1363 HS by 120 percent. Thanks to the active contribution of the workers, the complex built 860 apartments houses on a total area of 51,000 square metres last year.

CSO: 4600/410

AFGHANISTAN

DEMOCRATIZATION OF HIGHER LEARNING LAUNCHED BY GOVERNMENT

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 2 Apr 85 pp 2, 4

[Article by Ghulam A. Eqbal]

[Text] Over one thousand years ago Firdausi, a classic poet of Afghanistan had said "mighty is the wise man." Long before him in the first millenium B.C. the inhabitants of this ancient land were oriented with the teachings of Zoroaster, which indicates a deep and original insight of the ancient people of Afghanistan concerning the skill of learning and the art of obtaining knowledge.

However, in the course of history of Afghanistan this power of knowledge remained a privilege of a handful of elite and there was a great distance between the books and the children of the oppressed majority.

The victory of the April Revolution in 1978, under the leadership of the PDPA not only broke the bonds of feudal relations in Afghanistan, but also ended every opportunity in the betterment and uplift of education encouraging and showing a way to Afghan children to make use of the golden opportunity to obtain knowledge from Afghan school regardless of their social origin, religion, race, sex and language affiliations.

Thus, educational system along with other socio-economic institutions of the country went through a series of radical transformations, in line with the interests of the working people of Afghanistan.

The hypocritic character of Afghan schools which served the interests of the monarchical bureaucracy and had caused mass unemployment especially among tens of thousands of high school graduates and even college graduates, was drastically changed and the foundation of a progressive system of education conforming to the national interests of the country was created in the Founding Congress of Teachers of the DRA in spring 1980.

Comrade Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the CC of the PDPA and President of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA addressing the teachers, educators, and participants of the first congress of Teachers, while elaborating on the new educational reform, described the future schools of Afghanistan in the following words: "Our future school will have bright

classes equipped with instructional materials and will be taught by well qualified teachers, implementing progressive methods of education.

Our future schools will be like a family showering kindness on the children of our homeland. Proceeding from the spirit of holy religion of Islam, and patriotism, these schools would serve the needs and interests of our working people. Our future schools will raise generation which will be irreconcilable with the enemies of our independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity, generations of patriots and fervent revolutionaries characterized by their high moral standards and humane attitude. They would be hostile to exploitation of man by man, hostile to oppression, reaction, colonialism, fascism and racism...

Our future schools will be the primary assistant of the party and revolutionary state in building a new Afghanistan possessing a mighty and blossomed economy, science and culture.

The First Congress of Teachers of Afghanistan was a milestone in the history of education of our country. Now that we are getting ready to mark the seventh anniversary of the victory of the April Revolution it would be quite pertinent to review some of the educational accomplishments achieved during the post-revolutionary years.

On the basis of the educational policy of the PDPA and the Fundamental Principles of the DRA, the tasks of the government in regard with education are described in Article 28 as following:

"...The government shall adopt measures to develop national progressive education, eradicate illiteracy, establish schooling in the native languages of the inhabitants of different regions and expand free secondary, higher, and vocational education."

Among the early steps in democratisation of educational institutions was the abolition of all suppressive laws of the previous government which made it impossible for a large majority of the primary school graduates to continue their education. The Daoud regime had enforced an entrance examination for the secondary schools which was nothing but a social filter through which only the children of privileged minority were granted the opportunity to maintain their education at a higher level.

Public response to the progressive calls of the April Revolution was marked by the donations of millions of Afghanis in cash or checks, constructional material for building schools and thousands of books for the school libraries. The people also offered their voluntary services to the Ministry of Education and other educational institutions throughout the country.

Thus, the plans for qualitative and quantitative restructuring of educational institutions of the country were launched in full accord with popular demands and aspirations.

New curricula and textbooks taking into account the economic and cultural needs and the interests of the masses were prepared in Dari, Pushtu, Uzbek, Turkmen and Baluchi languages. In order to educate the students politically, a new subject called sociological studies was added to the curriculum of secondary school.

Since every revolution is characterized with certain innovations, the April Revolution also has had its own hallmarks especially in the sphere of education.

For the first time in Afghan history, the schools received the order to admit any child between the ages of 6-9 in the closest school to his or her convenience.

The Academy of Sciences of the DRA was founded which carries intensive researches and publishes important books and monographs in various fields of science. The teacher prepares the children of Afghanistan to be good, learned future citizens of our country.

Teacher who is considered as one of the most important elements in the process of education of new generations received special attention financially and professionally. The first Institute of Pedagogy was inaugurated which trains teachers with courses up to Master's Degree. The first institute for professional specialization of the in-services teachers was founded which offers periodical seminars and workshops for teachers and orients them with new programmes and innovations in the educational system of the country. Apart from the college of education of the Kabul University, there are eight other colleges for teachers in Afghanistan. These colleges also have been expanded and equipped intensively and their total enrolment has been doubled. A teachers college was also established in Nangarhar University located in the eastern part of the country.

Prior to the April Revolution large numbers of high school graduates discontinued their education due to economic difficulties and sought unskilled jobs inside and outside the country. In order to assist those students who come from low income families so that they can pursue their higher education and in order to encourage higher academic performance among the university students, scholarships of up to 1500 Afghanis aside from boarding and lodging were also granted to the above mentioned students.

Another main flaw in the content of the educational system before the April Revolution was the fact that the monarchical government authorities tried to neutralize the socio-political consciousness of young generation and fed especially the University students with useless materials politically. Therefore, in order to equip the party and state cadres with a sound and scientific knowledge about socio-political matters, an Institute of Social Sciences was established which works under the auspices of the CC of the PDPA.



The PDPA and the state of the DRA have also paid attention to the education of the workers and establishing of adult schools (morning and evening schools) in important areas.

Over 1.5 million working people have become literate through the nationwide campaign launched for eradicating illiteracy. Meanwhile dozens of adult schools called "Life education schools" have been established in Kabul, the cradle of April Revolution and other provinces.

It is not far from reality that before the revolution, children were considered as a neglected part of the Afghan population as far as state responsibilities towards small children were concerned. Only a few kindergartens existed in Kabul city and they only served the children of the elite of Kabul. Today, numerous kindergartens have been founded not in every district of Kabul city but also in the centers of most of the 29 provinces of the DRA.

Similarly, a large majority of state and private enterprises of the country have established their own nurseries and kindergartens called "Otaq-i-Kodak," the child-room. These facilities for children have also enabled thousands of mothers to take active part in the national production to have a career and to maintain a better standard of living.

Drawing public to active social and professional life, more than anything else, requires organisation. From sociological point of view, one of the major social changes in the life of the working population of the country is that they have become organized now. This is something which they lacked in the feudalist form of social relations. Today with the intensification of the process of democratisation of social life in Afghanistan, large groups of people have become mobilized in various kinds of social and professional organisations and unions.

In addition to the PDPA, the NFF, the Trade Unions and Peasant cooperatives of the DRA, the council of Religious Scholars and clergy, the WDOA, the DYOA, the Pioneers Organisation of the DRA, the Union of Writers and Poets, the Union of Journalists and the Union of Artists of the DRA are among the most influential social professional organisations affecting the cultural life of the country, especially the school and environmental learning of the young generation. Most of these organisations are post revolutionary phenomena in the life of our people.

Also the expansion and enrichment of the press, the rewarding of creative works of art and science, the raise in the payment of authors and translators as well as the raise in the teachers salary and their special privileges all together have given a revolutionary impetus to education in the country and have opened new horizon for our new generation where the hypothesis of Firdausi would be enriched as "the mighty would be the wise people."

All these radical changes take place in the face of an undeclared war, launched by the reactionary forces of the world, especially the US imperialism, the Chinese hegemonism and the reaction of the region against the glorious April Revolution.

CSO: 4600/408

AFGHANISTAN

COOPERATIVES SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL ROLE EXPANDING

Kabul KABUL NEW TIMES in English 3 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] A seminar on cooperative movement was held recently in the headquarters of the Union of Peasants of the DRA. One hundred and thirty representatives from 24 provinces of the country took part in the work of the seminar.

The participants discussed issues related to the organisation of accounting system, reporting and control over the methods for the maintenance of farm implements owned by the cooperatives, the effectiveness of socio-economic activities of cooperatives and so on. The participants included in the main the heads of all provincial unions of cooperatives, accountants and heads of the cooperatives of Kabul city and heads of central apparatus of the agricultural cooperatives.

The participants discussed quarterly and annual reports on accomplishments of the union of cooperatives in establishing and managing cooperatives in accordance with the charter of the union and special organisational directives. Discussed at the seminar was also the cooperative planning system. Participants of the seminar also presented views and proposals on the development and expansion of publicity and educational affairs, broadening of relations of the cooperatives with other social organisations and improvement of transport and construction affairs. Stating the above in an interview with our reporter Abdul Qayum Noorzai, General President of the Union of Peasants' Cooperatives of the DRA added: "The cooperative movement in the DRA entered a new stage of growth and development after the victory of the new and evolutionary phase of the April Revolution.

"The first congress of the cooperatives of the DRA was held on December 11, 1981 at which the Union of Peasants' Cooperatives of Afghanistan was founded.

"The Union as being the leading nucleus of the cooperative movement in Afghanistan, manages the purchase and sales of surplus agricultural products and provides through its sales outlets cheaply priced primary and consumer goods to the working people of the country. It also mobilizes the peasantry for the defence of the gains of the April Revolution. Campaign against illiteracy, launching voluntary works and so on are also among the urgent tasks being tackled by the Union.

"Presently, there are around 170 cooperatives of consumer goods and handicrafts, 200 cooperative stores, 32 mobile stores which are managed by 24 provincial unions of cooperatives and 30 district unions of cooperatives.

"The cooperatives of consumer goods and handicrafts have over 53,000 members throughout the country. These cooperatives sell the essential goods to their members at a price 30 percent cheaper than the free market prices."

Answering another question, he said: "According to its developmental plan, the Union spent 104.5 million Afghanis from the state budget for building stores, godowns, kitchens, administration offices and parking lots of heavy-duty trucks in the capital and provinces.

"This Union sold last year primary and consumer goods at a value of 240 million Afghanistan to its members and other working people in the capital and provinces through the stores of the Department of Promotion Consumer and Handicrafts Cooperatives.

Likewise the Union purchased over 5,000 tons of cereals, beans, fruits and vegetables from peasants and sold at the market in order to stabilize the prices. This process is continuing.

"In 1363 HS the peasants cooperatives of Afghanistan received credits amounting to 250 million Afghanis from the Da Afghanistan Bank at easy terms and used it to finance the purchase of commodities needed by cotton growers from the Afghan CART and Petroleum Products Enterprise etc. The Union also received a credit of 50 million Afghanis from the said bank for the purchase of wheat. The wheat so procured was delivered to the Ministries of Defence and Interior according to a protocol concluded earlier with them."

Noorzai added: The development plan of the Union for the current Afghan year envisages building of stores and godowns of wholesale trade, construction of small plants such as confectionary and baking plants, fruit cannery and the purchase of heavy-duty trucks. This will cost about 179 million Afghanis and 450,000 US dollars. A credit from friendly Soviet Union will be used to finance the said plan.

CSO: 4600/410

BANGLADESH

# EDITORIAL QUESTIONS INDIA'S INTENTIONS ON FARAKKA

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 20 Mar 85 p 5

[Editorial: "Farakka Damages"]

[Text]

The latest reports from India only proved the vicious intentions and designs the big neighbour nurtured while planning and constructing the Farakka barrage in West Bengal state over the international river Ganges. Time and again water experts and other authorities exposed the motives behind the implementation of the Farakka barrage by India saying it will not serve any useful purpose to that country but will only immensely harm the lower riparian small neighbour. India always denied such charges. But now responsible authorities in India by confirming that Farakka barrage has not helped the navigability of Calcutta port and the real problem of the port lies elsewhere have only given credence to what is true. Indian reports said the futility of Farakka barrage was demonstrated by the Indian government itself when it took up a huge dredging problem for the river Hoogly to maintain navigability of Calcutta port.

Indian experts themselves have now pointed out that the controversial barrage will eventually become redundant as Calcutta was losing ground as a modern port because of its inability to handle bigger ships. A high official of the Calcutta port was quoted in the report as saying the importance and effectiveness of the port was declining owing to lack of modern development and technical changes. Bigger ships, containers and tankers could not be handled by Calcutta port being a river port as a result. Haldia port was being built downstream of Midnapore as the port of the future. He said Farakka barrage which

was originally conceived as a project to save Calcutta port has become a non-issue. The forthright admittance of the fact only proved the hollowness on Indian arguments which Indian government still continues to insist on.

In the process the big neighbour defies all international norms and civilised behaviour regarding sharing of an international river. It also totally ignores the appeals of good neighbourliness and has shown utter disregard to the damage it has done to lower riparian Bangladesh by constructing the Farakka barrage.

Due to the unilateral withdrawal of the Ganges water Farakka point a process of desertification has started in whole of the northern region of Bangladesh. The stopping of the natural flow of water has also led to a fall in ground water level and intrusion of saline water creating ecological imbalance in Bangladesh. The economy, agriculture and ecology in large areas of the country, are in jeopardy because of the terrible impact of Farakka withdrawal. The situation goes on aggravating and millions in Bangladesh are pushed towards a serious crisis of life and living. According to one estimate only Bangladesh has suffered crop and other losses amounting to Taka 2500 crore over a period of five years from 1975-76 to 1980-81 due to the Farakka barrage. Agricultural lands and industrial units in eight districts are directly hit by the Farakka withdrawal of the Ganges water by India.

The worst part of the whole issue is that Indian attitudes towards the water sharing issue give little reason to think that an acceptable solution to the problem is near. The water sharing agreement between the two countries have already expired months back and despite Bangladesh's repeated requests India shows little interest in finding a new accord. On the other hand, it is building new barrages similar to that of Farakka on the Indian side of the Teesta and other common rivers. Bangladesh has always emphasised good and friendly relations between the two neighbours and repeatedly urged India to show flexibility in solving the problems of water sharing. It is time the big neighbour showed an accommodative attitude for fraternal ties and respect to international norms in sharing common river waters. The discomfort it has already caused to Bangladesh is resented by the people here.

BANGLADESH

ERSHAD ADDRESSES IMAMS', TEACHERS' CONFERENCE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] The President and Chief Martial Law Administrator, Lt Gen H.M. Ershad said in Dhaka on Sunday that strict adherence to the teachings and ideals of Islam could ensure establishment of a society free from poverty and exploitation, reports BSS.

Addressing the second grand conference of the imams and the teachers of Forkania Madrashas the President said Islam is a complete code of life which has not only envisaged the path for salvation of souls in the world hereafter but also provided guidelines for performing all mundane activities.

He reminded the audience of the life and activities of Prophet Hazrat Mohammad (sm) and said he (prophet) had performed his duties to religion as well as led an active life to improve the socioeconomic condition of his followers. In this context, he called for combining man and land to achieve the cherished objective of building a happy and prosperous country.

President Ershad said all his efforts were directed to improve condition of the people "Our efforts to uphold the cause of Islam will be successful only when we shall be able to make the country's 10 crore people happy by improving their condition through our united endeavours," he said.

The President pointed out that Islam is the religion of peace and said, "If we can firmly follow the tenets of Islam in our day-to-day life we shall surely be able to establish peace and discipline in the society."

He regretted that a section of self-seeking quarter had been trying to divide the country's God-fearing people by giving misinterpretation of Islamic teachings and ideals and said they were also using the sacred mosques for propagating their political objectives.

President Ershad urged all concerned not to use religion and mosques for political purpose and said, "Since we belong to one religion and followers of one Prophet we must shun the path of division and make a united endeavors to build the country on a sound economic footing."

He expressed concern at the conflicts in some parts of the Muslim world which was contrary to the teachings of Islam and our prophet. He said it was the

sacred duty and religious obligation on the part of every Muslim to make sincere efforts for forging greater unity and solidarity in the rank and file of the Islamic ummah.

The President said that mosques could play an important role in guiding the socioeconomic and religious life of the people. In this context he said the mosques could immensely help free the nation from the curse of illiteracy and teach the noble Islamic ideals of tolerance brotherhood and morality.

He said the government had already decided that the country's two lakh mosques should also function as maqtabas where children would be imparted with religious as well as functional education. In this connection he reminded the imams of their onerous responsibilities in spreading the light of education in every nook and corner of the country.

President Ershad said his government was aware of the genuine problems of the imams and everything possible would be done to solve them in due course.

Organised by the Masjid Samaj the conference was presided over by the President of the organisation brigadier (Retd) Mohammad Yunus Dewan and was addressed by Maulana Aminul Islam Maulana Mohammad Habibullah and Mr M.A. Faiz.

The Information Minister Mr A.R. Yusuf a former Minister Air Vice Marshal (Retd) K.M. Aminul Islam and high officials were present at the inaugural session of the conference.

CSO : 4600/1483

BANGLADESH

THIRD FIVE-YEAR PLAN REPORTED TO BEGIN IN JULY

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Mar 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Third Five-Year Plan will be launched in July next as scheduled with a spillover of 600 to 700 development projects although the publication of the draft plan will be delayed. The draft Third Five-Year Plan will be released by the end of May or first week of June next.

Meanwhile the Planning Commission is preparing to convene a meeting of national and international planning experts including the President of the World Bank in April to discuss the draft of the plan threadbare. The invitees from abroad will include the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commissions of different governments. Besides the representatives of the multinational donor agencies will also be invited to the meeting.

The size of the plan will finally be fixed after the April meet in Dhaka. The Planning Commission is now "working with a national outlay of Taka 30 thousand crore with special emphasis on attaining food self-sufficiency, population control, human resources and energy development. The private sector will get a special preference in the Third Five-Year Plan.

The draft five-year plan was expected to be released by the end of March but the Planning Commission is now taking some extra time to make it a full proof document incorporating the suggestions of national and international experts.

When contacted a spokesman of the Planning Commission told the OBSERVER that the delay in releasing the draft plan will not affect the launching of the plan in time. He said the Annual Development Programme (ADP) for 1985-86 will be prepared with the spillover projects and with about 200 new projects.

CSO: 4600/1483



BANGLADESH

PAPER GIVES TEXT OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS ORDINANCE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 20 Mar 85 p 3

[Text]

Following is the full text of the Industrial Relations (Amendment) Ordinance, 1985 promulgated by the President:

The Industrial Relations (Amendment) Ordinance, 1985 Ordinance No. XV of 1985 an Ordinance further to amend the Industrial Relations Ordinance, 1969.

Whereas it is expedient further to amend the Industrial Relations Ordinance, 1969 (XXIII of 1969), for the purposes hereinafter appearing.

Now, the before, in pursuance of the proclamation of the 24th March, 1982 and in exercise of all powers enabling him in that behalf, the President is pleased to make and promulgate the following Ordinance:

1. Short Title: This Ordinance may be called the Industrial Relations (Amendment) Ordinance, 1985.

2. Substitution of Section 7A, Ord. XXIII of 1969: In the Industrial Relations Ordinance, 1969 (XXIII of 1969), hereinafter referred to as the said Ordinance, for Section 7A the following shall be substituted, namely:

"7A. Disqualification of R being an officer or a member of a trade union: (1) notwithstanding anything contained in the constitution or the rules of trade union, a person shall not be entitled—

(A) to be, or to be elected as, an officer of a trade union if he has been convicted of an offence involving moral turpitude and including an offence under Clause (D) of Sub-Section (II) of Section 16 or Section 61, and

(B) to be a member or officer of a trade union formed in any establishment or group of establishments if he is not, or was never, employed or engaged in that establishment or group of establishments.

(2) Nothing in Clause (B) of Sub-Section (I) shall apply to any federation of trade unions."

3. Substitution of Section 10, Ord. XXIII of 1969: In the said Ordinance, for Section 10 the following shall be substituted, namely:

"10. Cancellation of registration: (1) Subject to the other provisions of this section, the registration of a trade union may be cancelled by the registrar if the trade union has

(A) applied for such cancellation or ceased to exist,

(B) obtained registration by fraud or by misrepresentation of facts,

(C) contravened any of the provisions of its constitution,

(D) committed any unfair labour practice,

(E) made in its constitution any provision which is inconsistent with this ordinance or the rules,

(F) a membership which has fallen short of 30 per cent of the workers of the establishment or group of establishments for which it was formed,

(G) failed to submit its annual report to the registrar as required under this ordinance,

(H) elected as its officer a person who is disqualified under Section 7A from being elected as, or from being, such officer, or

(I) contravened any of the provisions of this ordinance or the rules.

(2) Where the registrar is of opinion that the registration of a trade union should be cancelled, he shall submit an application to the Labour Court praying for permission to cancel such registration.

(3) The registrar shall cancel the registration of a trade union within seven days from the date of receipt of a permission from the Labour Court.

(4) The registration of a trade union shall not be cancelled on the ground mentioned in Clause (D) of Sub-Section (I) if the unfair labour practice is not committed within three months prior to the date of submission of the application to the Labour Court."

4. Substitution of Section II, Ord. XXIII of 1969 — in the said Ordinance, for Section II the following shall be substituted,

tuted, namely:

"II appeal against cancellation: A trade union which is aggrieved by the order of cancellation of its registration of a trade union under Section 10 may, within sixty days from the date of the order, appeal to the labour appellate tribunal which may uphold or reject the order."

5. Insertion of new Section 47A and 47B, Ord., XXIII of 1969—

In the said ordinance, after Section 47, the following new sections shall be inserted, namely: "47A, conditions of service to remain unchanged while application of registration pending: no employer shall while on application under Section 5 for registration of a trade union is pending, without prior permission of the registrar, alter, to the disadvantage of any workman who is an officer of such trade union, the conditions of service applicable to him before the receipt of the application by the Registrar.

47B officers not to be transferred: No officer of any trade union shall be transferred from one place to another without his consent."

6 Amendment of Section 47, Ord., XXIII of 1969: In the said Ordinance, in Section 47, for the words "otherwise punish any workman" the words "otherwise punish any workman or termination his service" shall be substituted.

6 Substitution of Section 20, E.P. Act VIII of 1965: In the said Act, for Section 20 the following shall be substituted namely—"20 Provident Fund: No work, who is a member of any provident fund, shall be deprived due to retrenchment, dismissal, discharge or termination of service of the benefit of that provident fund including the employers' contribution thereto, if he is entitled to it under the rules of that fund."

(7) Amendment of Section 25, E.P. Act VIII of 1965: In the said Act, in Section 25— (A) in

Clause (B), for the proviso the following shall be substituted, namely: "Provided that no complaint shall lie against an order of termination of employment of a worker under Section 19, unless the services of the worker concerned is alleged to have been terminated for his trade union activities or unless the worker concerned has been deprived of the benefits specified in that section." and

(B) in Clause (C), the words "in such summary way as it deems proper" shall be omitted.

#### **EMPLOYMENT OF LABOUR (STANDING ORDERS) (AMENDMENT) ORDINANCE, 1985**

Following is the full text of the Employment of Labour (Standing Orders) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1985 promulgated by the President on 13th March, 1985:

#### **THE EMPLOYMENT OF LABOUR (STANDING ORDERS) (AMENDMENT) ORDINANCE, 1985 ORDINANCE NO. XVI OF 1985 AN ORDINANCE**

further to amend the Employment of Labour (Standing Orders) Act, 1985

Whereas it is expedient further to amend the Employment of Labour (Standing Orders) Act, 1965 (EP Act VIII of 1965), for the purposes hereinafter appearing:

Now, therefore, in pursuance of the Proclamation of the 24th March, 1982, and in exercise of all powers enabling him in that behalf, the President is pleased to make and promulgate the following Ordinance:—

#### **1. SHORT TITLE, EXTENT AND COMMENCEMENT**

(1) This Ordinance may be called the Employment of Labour (Standing Orders) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1985.

(2) It extends to the whole of Bangladesh.

(3) It shall come into force at once.

#### **2. AMENDMENT OF SECTION 12, EP ACT VIII OF 1965**

In the Employment of Labour (Standing Orders) Act, 1965 (EP Act VIII of 1965), hereinafter referred to as the said Act, in Section 12, in Clause (C) for the word "fourteen" the word "thirty" shall be substituted.

#### **3. AMENDMENT OF SECTION 16, EP ACT VIII OF 1965**

In the said Act, in Section 16, in the proviso, for the word "fourteen" the word "thirty" shall be substituted.

#### **4. AMENDMENT OF SECTION 17, EP ACT VIII OF 1965**

In the said Act, in Section 17, for Sub-Section (1) the following shall be substituted, namely:—

"(1) Notwithstanding anything regarding lay-off, retrenchment, discharge and termination of service as provided elsewhere in this Act, a worker may—

(a) be dismissed without prior notice or pay in lieu thereof or any compensation if he is convicted for an offence; or

(b) be dismissed without prior notice or pay in lieu thereof if he is found guilty of misconduct under Section 18, provided that the worker having completed not less than one year of continuous service, so dismissed, shall be paid by the employer compensation at the rate of fourteen days' wages for every completed year of service, or for any part thereof in excess of six months, or gratuity, if any, whichever is higher.

Explanation: For the purpose of calculation of compensation under Clause (b) of this Sub-Section, wages shall mean the average of basic wages and dearness allowance, if any, paid to the worker during the period of twelve months immediately preceding the date of his dismissal."

**5. AMENDMENT OF SECTION 19, EP ACT VIII OF 1963**

In the said Act, in Section 19, in Sub-Section (1) :—

(a) for the words "ninety days", occurring twice, the words "one hundred and twenty days" shall be substituted;

(b) for the words "forty-five days", occurring twice, the words "sixty days" shall be substituted; and

(c) for the words "fourteen days" the words "thirty days" shall be substituted.

**6. SUBSTITUTION OF SECTION 20, EP ACT VIII OF 1963**

In the said Act, for Section 20 the following shall be substituted namely :—

"20. Provident Fund: No worker, who is a member of any Provident Fund, shall be deprived due to retrenchment, dismissal, discharge or termination

of service of the benefit of that Provident Fund including the employers' contribution thereto, if he is entitled to it under the rules of that Fund."

**7. AMENDMENT OF SECTION 25, EP ACT VIII OF 1963**

In the said Act, in Section 25:

(a) in Clause (b), for the proviso the following shall be substituted, namely :—

"Provided that no complaint shall lie against an order, of termination of employment, of a worker under Section 19, unless the services of the worker concerned is alleged to have been terminated for his trade union activities or unless the worker concerned has been deprived of the benefits specified in that section"; and

(b) in Clause (C), the words "in such summary way as it deems proper" shall be omitted.

CSO: 4600/1484

BANGLADESH

DROUGHT BRINGS BLEAK PROSPECTS OF AGRICULTURAL RECOVERY

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 21 Mar 85 pp 1, 8

[Article by Amirul Islam]

[Text]

PABNA, Mar 20 : The prospect of agricultural recovery following last year's unprecedented flood is now bleak, because of a continuous drought that has hit the entire northern region of the country.

The five-month-long drought beginning November last not only caused large scale damage to standing Irri, Boro and Rabi crops in the region, but also totally stopped farm activities in many places.

The worst drought-hit areas are Pabna, Sirajganj, Rajshahi, Kushtia, Chuadanga, Meherpur and Natore where 50 per cent of Irri-Boro crops and other agricultural produces including pulse and onion were already damaged.

According to informations received from relevant sources, standing crops on a vast area of 30,000 acres in Pabna district and 35,000 acres in Sirajganj were damaged due to drought.

In Rajshahi, an estimated eight lakh tons of wheat fell short of the target as there was no single drop of rain over the last few months. Sowing of Jute, Aus and Aman at present is being affected in the area.

The affected upazilas in

Pabna are Pabna Sadar, Sujana-gar, Santhia, Faridpur, Chatmo-har and Bhangoora where farm land developed cracks because of absence of surface water as all rivers and beels in these areas have been dried up.

On the other hand, the ground water level also falls alarmingly rendering many shallow tubewells unserviceable. About 50 per cent tubewells have already gone out of order due to lack of necessary water. The cultivation of summer and rainy season vegetables is also being hampered.

Meanwhile, thousands of "Khetmajurs" (agricultural labourers) in various affected areas where the farm activities are now stopped following severe drought, have landed in an uncertainty as they have nothing to do.

Small rivers and tributaries of the Ganges in region have also dried up following an all-time low flow of the latter this year causing a threat to surface water irrigation system and lack of necessary rain water recharge is resulting in abnormal fall of ground water.

INDIA

# SPY CASE: THREE SOVIET ENVOYS LEFT INDIA

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 18 Apr 85 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, April 17 (PTI)--The Soviet Union is the fourth country besides France, Poland and the German Democratic Republic to be involved in the espionage case that rocked the country, according to the chargesheet filed against the 19 accused.

Three Soviet diplomats who received intelligence reports regarding situations in countries in India's neighbourhood left India soon after the busting of the ring on January 17 last, it said.

The diplomats were identified as Mr Rudnev, Mr Portontv and Mr Krilov in the 2,100-page chargesheet filed in the court of the additional chief metropolitan magistrate, Mr Bharat Bhushan on Monday last.

The chargesheet said that the two accused--hosiery businessmen Ashok Kumar Jaithka and B.K. Aggarwal, who had business dealings with the Soviet Union, gave the documents to the diplomats attached to the USSR embassy here.

Jaithka and Aggarwal procured top secret RAW and intelligence bureau reports from another accused, H.N. Chaturvedi, acting as linkman between Coomar Narain and the two businessmen.

It mentioned that the information regarding internal situation in Sri Lanka, Pakistan and China were passed on to the Soviet Union, however, the information collected by the diplomats was not anti-India.

The chargesheet said the accused Yogesh T. Maneklal, had made it clear to his Delhi-based manager, Coomar Narain, not to directly deal in matters of money with the French, the Polish and the GDR diplomats. He had told Narain that he would be compensated in turn. Maneklal's Company, S.L.M. Maneklak industries, has also been made an accused in the case.

According to the chargesheet, the French paid rupees four to 4.5 lakh a month to Maneklal. Similar monthly amounts were paid by the Polish and the East Germans, it said.

CSO: 4600/1530

INDIA

## ANALYST SAYS RAJIV MAKES GOOD BEGINNING

Madras THE HINDU in English 14 Apr 85 p 2

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

**I**N these days of mass politics, it is difficult to run a parliamentary democracy with the benefit of better informed opinion. The Indian experience has shown that a big majority by itself does not ensure a more efficient government, since mere numbers do not always contribute to an improvement in the quality of representation. A bulk organisation like the Congress (I), on the other hand, suffers from all the evils of populism which does not offer enough scope for honest dissent over the policies of the ruling party, let alone conscientious objection to any action of the Government.

There has to be enough latitude for inner party democracy to provide for adequate internal discussion before the Government takes an important decision. But if even dissent is treated as an unmistakable manifestation of disloyalty to the leader, or an unpardonable absence of adequate commitment to the prescribed party line, the whole process of assessing and harnessing the consensus within the ruling party itself gets distorted, leaving no scope for a wider national debate.

### Inadequacies

As relatively a newcomer to this mug's game of party politics, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has apparently realised the inadequacies of Indian democracy before his own reflexes get conditioned by them. He is evidently troubled by the progressive decline in the standards of public life and the many distortions that have developed in the parliamentary system. Though he has a three-fourths majority in the Lok Sabha, and an almost two-thirds margin in the Rajya Sabha, he does not have enough talent at his disposal to run the Government more efficiently or make his party function more effectively in Parliament. His intention is not to opt for elitism in the name of utilising the wisdom and experience of the talented few, but reduce the country's increasing dependence on philistinism based on ignorance.

The young Prime Minister is by no means a great parliamentarian cast in the mould of the veterans of the independence movement. But like his mother he has made his debut with a reassuring style of his own, impressing both his admirers and critics as a decent and modest, self-possessed and well-meaning new leader anxious to prove himself worthy of the massive mandate he has received from the people. He is disappointed with the poor performance of his party in Parliament and the general indifference of members to issues of more fundamental importance. It is, therefore, heartening to see him prodding his Congress (I) colleagues to take more interest in the proceedings of Parliament, acquire a better grasp of the complexities of modern government and develop a greater sense of involvement in the functioning of the democratic dispensation.

It is with these well-meaning objectives in view that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has started meeting Congress (I) M.P.s in informal groups to get to know them personally and urge them to specialise in different subjects and make a positive contribution to the debates in Parliament. He

wants members to voice their views freely in the party meetings and write to him on any subject to enable him to have the benefit of their advice. He is also gingering up the party organisation to encourage individual M.P.s to keep in close touch with their constituencies; convey the feelings of their voters to the Ministers and establish better rapport with the people down the line.

The Prime Minister has also appointed a committee to look into the inadequate emoluments and amenities of members of Parliament and suggest suitable increases to meet their reasonable requirements. The existing disparities in the life styles of the few who are rich with the right connections, and the great majority of others who have no personal incomes of one

kind or the other to supplement their meagre salaries and daily allowances, have been a source of heart-burning between the haves and have-nots in the ruling party exposed to temptations.

The new accent is on promoting a better spirit of egalitarianism among the Congress (I) M.P.s as part of the general self-disciplines that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is trying to inculcate among his party colleagues. He is not imposing on the party a new brand of equalitarianism, as an off-shoot of Congress (I) socialism, but only discouraging ostentatious living through a vulgar display of wealth by the privileged few, while taking steps to ensure that the less well placed ones are not denied adequate means for meeting the high cost of living without relying on others to supplement them.

#### Miles to go

As a young Prime Minister with no past to live down and no alibis to offer for non-performance, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has many miles to go to keep his many promises to the people. But with the two election campaigns well behind him, he is no longer under any compulsion to talk of instant solutions to the chronic problems. There have not been many heads of government anywhere in the world at any time who started off with such tremendous goodwill as Mr. Rajiv Gandhi who came to power in the most traumatic circumstances. His strong point is that he has not so far made any big mistake to fritter away this tremendous advantage, although he has not yet settled down to the challenging tasks of governance.

As the captain of the crew in the cockpit of the Government, he has to bear the tremendous responsibility of having all the 740 million Indians as his passengers, not just a couple of hundred on a short-haul jet aircraft on an internal flight. But he cannot make this vast country airborne to catch up with the lost opportunities and leap forward into the next century with confidence, unless he has a reliable ground crew to assist him. It is for this reason that he is attaching the utmost importance to refurbishing the image of his party and giving its members of Parliament a sense of participation in governing the country.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's detractors tend to decry his technocratic vision of India's future as no more than a fad of a young and untried Prime Minister catapulted into this pivotal position. He is accused of relying unduly on the new subliminal methodologies of public opinion manipulation to cover up the shortcomings of his party and his own inexperience. The young men around him who have been articulating his vision of a new India are derisively referred to as whiz kids who tinker with computers to impress him with their own half-baked ideas for transforming this change resistant country through a technological revolution.

This is an uncharitable assessment bordering on pathological prejudice of what the Prime Minister seeks to achieve by thinking big and aiming high without stagnating in the immobilities of the past. The art of governance does

not imply that all promises made must be implemented all at once, that all plans drawn up for implementation must be accomplished hundred per cent to qualify for the trophy and acquire the certificate of merit.

The whole concept of planning in warfare is based on the assumption that under average operational conditions, a battlefield commander can be deemed to have scored a victory if 60 to 70 per cent of his strategic moves succeed in outwitting the enemy without paying an unduly high price for it. In civil administration too, the law of averages that works as remorselessly as in warfare takes into account unforeseen contingencies in the shape of unexpected hurdles. It is for this reason that all political institutions are designed to be run by men of average competence who are endowed with the right instincts.

The perceptive Indians and foreign visitors who have an opportunity to meet and talk to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi are impressed by him as a decent and earnest Prime Minister who is anxious to give the country a clean, efficient and responsive government, one who is also aware of its many limitations. The disarming candour with which he speaks about his tasks is not intended to project himself as a great visionary, much less an impatient young man in a hurry to make a big dent on the minds of his people.

He is able to carry conviction by meaning what he says in a simple and straight-forward fashion, avoiding the pretensions of lofty attitudes with hyperbolic expressions. He is also open to conviction in the sense that he is not dogmatic about his policies and actions, since he is prepared to listen to differing opinions and respond to other points of view if they are relevant to his basic purposes. It is this resilience of temperament that is helping him to establish a good working relationship with his Congress (I) colleagues.

It has taken Mr. Rajiv Gandhi almost six months, since he became Prime Minister on that sad day at the end of October last, to settle down in office and come to grips with the complexities of modern administration. It will take him another six months at least to master these complexities and usher in a new era of orderly development. The new Cabinet he formed after the Lok Sabha elections is not a perfect one and the long time he is taking to fill the many vacancies has not helped to get his administration into stride, nor has the haphazard changes made in the higher bureaucracy enhanced the morale of the civil servants.

Any Prime Minister has to learn the hard way through trial and error, more so in the case of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi who has assumed this responsibility at a difficult time, and if he can make Indian democracy function better by making Parliament more effective, the administration more efficient and political life less corrupt, he will succeed in winning half the battle before concentrating on the long-term objectives of changing the face of this ancient country and improving the living standards of its people.

INDIA

## GANDHI TREATS SWAPO LEADER AS HEAD OF STATE

Madras THE HINDU in English 18 Apr 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 17.

The contention of the non-aligned community that the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) is the sole representative of Namibia was adequately demonstrated today, when the chairman of the movement, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, personally received its leader, Mr. Sam Nujoma on his arrival in Delhi today.

As president of SWAPO, he is being treated as head of a State, not just a liberation movement, to drive home the point that the South African attempts to prop up some rivals and instal a so-called transitory government in Namibia are totally unacceptable.

**Declaration:** The extraordinary ministerial meeting of the coordination bureau will adopt a declaration in what is called the final document reaffirming the inalienable right of the Namibian people to self-determination and independence in a united Namibia with complete territorial integrity including the Walvis Bay, the Penguin Islands and other off-shore islands which the South African Government has been trying to detach and usurp from it.

The declaration calls upon the U.N. Council on Namibia to take steps to establish Namibia's exclusive economic zone and also prevent the plunder of its vast wealth by South African companies and their foreign associates.

The draft declaration calls upon member countries of the non-aligned movement to contribute generously to the non-aligned solidarity fund for Namibia as an eloquent expression of their moral and material support to its gallant people fighting for their freedom against a most oppressive racist regime bent on perpetuating its rule.

**'Apply sanctions against S. Africa':** The document recalls that the last time the U.N. Security Council dealt with the Namibian issue was in October, 1983, and urges it to take up this issue again to exert all possible pressures on South Africa to comply with the U.N. resolutions and grant independence to Namibia without any further delay and prevarication.

One of the reasons why the non-aligned community is taking the lead in mobilising world opinion for making the Security Council assume full responsibility for securing Namibian independence is that South Africa has been trying to circumvent the U.N. resolution by getting together a few local quislings to form a so-called transitory Government and declare unilateral independence under its patronage. It is to forestall such an insidious attempt that this extraordinary session of the coordination bureau has been called and the SWAPO elevated to the status of a provisional Government of Namibia for all practical purposes.

CSO: 4600/1533



INDIA

## PRESS REPORTS DEVELOPMENTS IN COMMUNIST PARTIES

### CPI-M Rejects CPI Charges

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 7 Apr 85 p 7

[Text]

BHUBANESWAR, April 6.—The CPI(M) yesterday rejected the CPI accusation that the former was harming the cause of Left unity in the country, and said the fact was just the opposite, reports UNI.

In a rejoinder to the CPI general secretary, Mr Rajeswara Rao's allegations on Wednesday, the CPI(M)'s Orissa State committee secretariat said no Communist unity could be achieved at present, as the CPI leadership wanted to avoid a "fierce ideological battle" that was necessary for it.

It said despite all the CPI's "misdeeds" in the recent election the CPI(M) still considered it a Left party, and accorded it a special status among all other Left parties.

The statement said that the CPI(M) general secretary, Mr E. M. S. Namboodiripad had written a letter to the CPI leadership to this effect in the last week of March. Also, there was a national level coordination committee to promote better understanding between the two.

But, it regretted, the CPI was not interested in the functioning of the committee.

The statement alleged that Mr Rao had tried to mislead the people through his "false and motivated" allegations against the CPI(M) "to cover up the CPI misdeeds" during the recent elections.

"We want to make it clear once again that we want the Left unity very much," it said and called upon the CPI leadership to have a self-critical attitude before a Left unity could be forged.

The statement said in Bihar the CPI "very meticulously tried to isolate us."

It said in Orissa, though the CPI(M) supported the CPI in all the seats they contested except two, the latter came out openly to attack the former.

Nor did CPI supporters cast their votes for CPI(M) candidates, it alleged.

# CPI-M Before Party Congress

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 10 Apr 85 p 4

[Article by Ashis Barman]

[Text]

A section of the CPI-M members in West Bengal is not only highly confused but also angry with what they brand as the "dominant leadership" of the party. Locally, it would signify Mr Jyoti Basu and Land Reforms and Panchayat Minister Benoy Chowdhury at the administrative end, while organisationally, Mr Saroj Mukherjee at the helm of the State party, is the man being sniped at.

But the sniping, though hardly very effective, cover, many others at the all-India level, indeed, almost the entire Politburo. While Mr B T Ranadive and Mr Basavapunniah are largely denigrated as old, fatigued men and windbags, Mr E M S Namboodiripad, along with Mr Jyoti Basu emerge as the main focus of attack for their alleged revisionism.

This charge of revisionism against them has two different dimensions which tend to converge on one point alone. This point, it is recalled, manifested in the fact that at the early stage of the split in the CPI, both Mr Namboodiripad and Mr Jyoti Basu were for a time "centrists" in the party, allegedly, nursing a soft corner for the Soviet Union, when the latter was being branded by the other stalwarts who became the top bosses of the subsequent CPI-M, as the citadel of modern revisionism.

True, these leaders evidently always had many reservations, unlike that of late Promode Das Gupta, Mr Basavapunniah or the first General Secretary of the party, Mr P Sundarayya, regarding certain basic Maoist formulations embedded in the famous June 1963 letter of the Chinese Communist Party to its Soviet counterpart, reservations which were to be shared by Mr B T Ranadive also, among others. But this was at a later stage, around 1966-67, when the Naxalite eruption in West Bengal, stemming from the simulated Maoism of the CPI-M leaders like Sundarayya and Promode Das Gupta, had but the

party in a jam. A section of the CPI-M activists insisted that either the party practised its profession of unleashing a China type agrarian revolution, or be prepared to get branded as neo-revisionist. The prefix "neo" was invented because earlier the CPI-M had designated almost the entire world Communist movement, including the parent body CPI, as revisionist or modern revisionist, mouthing lock stock and barrel Mao's formulations.

Experienced as they were of the disastrous consequences of the "revolutionary" period of late forties and early fifties for the United Communist Party of India, known as the BTR phase, the top CPI-M leaders, including Promode Das Gupta and Mr Sundarayya, while propounding Maoist slogans, actually pursued the democratic path of advance. In other words, the party tried to build up class organisations and mass influence wherever possible and participated in electoral battles. This militant stance, politically blind anti-Congress and theoretically anti-CPI, in the short term, paid handsome dividend to the CPI-M in the traditionally Left States on two scores. First in States like Kerala, West Bengal, Tripura and partly in Andhra, majority of the Communist activists, who had become so by being disillusioned with the Congress, turned to the CPI-M.

Secondly, to the extent people in these areas tended to be frustrated with the Congress and the CPI which failed to pursue its line of cooperation and struggle with the Congress correctly, the electoral prospect of the CPI-M naturally improved. In 1977, this improvement was crowned with a big triumph in West Bengal and Tripura, while its Kerala influence remained intact.

These triumphs, however, at once tended to become a source of strength and danger for the CPI-M. For one thing, the party was not intellectually prepared regarding how to follow the

path of democratic advance, while ruling in two States and being in the opposition in most others, including at the Centre, having conditioned itself with barren Maoist postulates — the postulates which insisted on guerrilla warfare and agrarian revolution in an entirely different statal, geographic, political and social situation than in India, and which, tragically, a section of the former CPI-M activists and middle leaders, turned Naxalites in West Bengal and many other States, were trying to follow since 1967.

Thus, while thanks to the vision of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Congress party constituted a planning body more than a decade before the attainment of independence, in order to gain a basic idea regarding national endowments and which way to go after freedom, one of the first acts of the first Left Front Government in West Bengal was to dismantle the State Planning Board, not to constitute it in a better manner with more effective experts, but to dissolve it as "superfluous". For, still largely confused by the hangover of their Maoist trance, most of the CPI-M leaders in West Bengal, excepting perhaps Mr Jyoti Basu and Mr Benoy Chowdhury, still believed that no durable benefit to the people could be rendered within the existing powers of the State Government.

That this belief and confused and contradictory formulation was totally against the idea of the possibility of democratic advance of the Left—if no durable benefit to the masses can be rendered even after electoral victory, then the participation in all democratic struggles, including elections, tend to become meaningless—belatedly occurred to leaders like Promode Das Gupta nearly at the verge of 1982 Assembly poll.

Earlier, only the theory of rendering marginal relief to the people was propounded as the objective of the Left administration and parties. Hence, while the allocation to its own

plan projects came down sharply in West Bengal, the non-plan expenditure of the Government suddenly shot up. For instance, the State administration's expenses in terms of salary and DA of the Government employees, college and school teachers at every level, plus on petrol for government vehicles, rent, etc. went up from Rs 300 crore annually in 1966-67 to Rs 900 crore by 1980. This relief rendered according to the obtaining CPI-M theory, however, did not increase efficiency, work discipline, political consciousness or the sense of social responsibility of the benefitted section. And the CPI-M leaders and members in private now do not fail to regret such a sharp increase in non-plan expenditure, devoid of proportionate social benefits. In contrast, the State Government contributed Rs 34 crore for the annual plans of the first three years of the Sixth Five Year Plan expenditure of West Bengal.

Not that the entire non-plan expenditure was avoidable or waste, a part of it was necessary. But there is no doubt at all that under a totally self-defeating ideological influence, no socially beneficial balance was struck between plan and non-plan expenditures in the State for long. This intellectual barrenness can be partly explained by the Maoist hangover on the dominant section of the CPI-M leadership, and partly to their fear of Naxalite influence on the ranks. For, they were actually pursuing the path of democratic advance, instead of Maoist slogans, devoid of the intellectual perception of the tasks of the path followed objectively.

Thus, in 1967-68, in order to stem further exodus of the ranks to the Maoist camp of the Naxalites, the West Bengal CPI-M hit upon the idea of land grab movement without any grass roots preparation. It was soon withdrawn due to its baneful effect in the rural areas, where not only the entire peasantry was getting alienated but even the landless poor had begun to clash with each other in spontaneous, adventurist acts. Initially, Promode Das Gupta tried to

explain away the phenomenon as intensification of class struggle, but later had to concede that the move was harmful adventurism.

This was, however, hardly the end the CPI-M's tortuous evolution from sectarian, Maoist formation to a slow, painful and often contradictory return to certain Marxist digits of democratic advance in recent times. For, even in the Burdwan plenum of the party in 1969, when Maoist China had already lambasted it as neo-revisionist, it tried to convince its ranks with its sectarian purity by first reiterating that the Soviet party was revisionist and secondly, by trotting out a funny theory, reportedly concocted by leaders like Promode Das Gupta, Mr Sundarayya and Mr Basavapunniah, which envisaged half-partisan battles in contiguous rural areas.

These confused prevarications certainly saved the party from being swamped by the Naxalite outburst backed by Chinese Maoists verbally, but the toll of these painful exercises tended to denude the dominant party leadership, particularly the ideologues like Mr B T Ranadive, Mr Basavapunniah and partly even Mr E M S Nambudiripad, from spelling out clearly the path of democratic advance actually adopted by the party, forced by the objective conditions. For, even unspelled changes in the party line had to be couched in disoriented, Maoist stances, till in China itself Maoism began to decline.

Thus, the fundamental changes of certain formulations brought about in the party's Jalandhar Congress in 1978, wherein, among other things, for the first time the CPI-M acknowledged that there were progressive and democratic forces in Indira Gandhi's party, (apart from the Young Turks and the former Nehruite Congressmen in the Janata), these fresh formulations were clouded with deceptive verbiage. These were not spelled out in terms of the party's vision of democratic advance, prospective areas of alliances and divergences with these newly reckoned democratic forces, and so on.

In the absence of these basic clarifications, and frustrated by recent electoral reverses suffered by the party, discordant but disparate noises are being made against the top party leadership in the West Bengal and Kerala units of the CPI-M. Some are harping on the discredited "contiguous region" theory, when Mr Sundarayya himself is busy forging alliance with the obscurantist Telugu Desam, some others are putting forward a tentative line of back to the agrarian revolution slogan, while another section is toying with the idea of how regionalist demands could be raised within the Marxist garb of self-determination of various nationalities.

The central leaders know that this type of moves would give the regionalist formations and separatists a dangerous weapon to decimate the CPI-M itself. The developments in Punjab, Andhra, Assam and the growing threat in Tripura from the secessionist forces are too close for the regionalist section of the CPI-M to turn very effective in their stance. Indeed, the discordant voices are desperate and utterly confused, but they can in their confusion itself become a festering sore to the top party leadership unless the latter, in the next Party Congress, scheduled early next year or at this year end, can remove the contradictions dogging the party for a long time.

The contradiction is inherent in the actual line of democratic advance adopted by the party without its ideological renewal on a continuous basis. And these contradictions tended to push not only the CPI-M, but also the CPI in recent times to opportunist search of friends even among the communal, obscurantist and kulak formations to their own eventual regrets and decline. So, this is the basic dilemma of the CPI-M prior to its next Congress and the top party leadership is facing a crucial test of their maturity in an extremely complex overall situation, for confused activists and middle leaders in ideologically oriented Left parties always tend to derail their respective growth.

# Rao on CPI National Council Meet

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 13 Apr 85 p 6

[Text]

The CPI will launch a series of movements to highlight electoral malpractices, "anti-people" policies contained in the Budget and threat to the country from imperialism. While the date for the agitation against electoral malpractices will only be finalised after talks with other Opposition parties, the Budget movement is slated for 1 May and the one against imperialism is fixed for 9 May.

This was stated on Friday by CPI general secretary C Rajeswara Rao while briefing the press following the party's national council meeting on 8-10 April.

Mr Rao felt that a country-wide movement against electoral malpractices would gain momentum as most parties are expected to rally together on the issue. On the Budget however there was little scope for a similar joint action as "many bourgeois opposition parties did not agree with the Left parties on fiscal policies", said Mr Rao.

To that extent, the CPI leader was also sceptical of the initiative taken by the CPI-M to bring together the opposition parties that had attended the Calcutta conclave on the Budget issue. His party's reservation on this question has already been intimated to the Marxists by Mr Rao.

The question will be discussed later in the evening when CPI-M and CPI leaders get together to thrash out mutual differences, said Mr Rao. While there was little chance of all differences between the two parties being sorted out in one sitting, efforts will be made "to end the public controversy", he added.

The CPI plans to bring out rallies in most States on 9 May to educate people about the threat imperialism posed to India's security and the dangers of a nuclear holocaust emanating from Mr Ronald Reagan's "star wars" programme. The rallies in Patna and Vijaywada are expected to be large, said Mr Rao. He added that it was unfortunate that many opposition parties were not seized of this grave danger.

The CPI was happy that the Government had taken certain unilateral decisions to normalise the Punjab situation. "Most of the

steps taken were contained in our package proposal to the Government and we would be happier if all these were taken together", said Mr Rao.

He however clarified that the lifting of ban on the AISSF was not contained in the CPI package proposal. The CPI wanted the Akalis to respond to the Government initiatives and it also wanted the Government to release the detained Akali leaders and others against whom there was no substantial charge. The party is planning a march in Delhi on 29 May on the Punjab issue, said Mr Rao.

The anti-reservation stir in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh was mainly a result of the Congress' opportunistic policies for electoral gain, said Mr Rao. While admitting that other forces too have now joined issues to make the situation worse, Mr Rao felt that the Government's inability to take a decision on the Mandal Commission report was preventing a solution to the problem.

The CPI has made a proposal on reservation which includes reservation of jobs for backward castes on the basis of income and a 25 per cent reservation of women.

The party has called upon its State units to take up immediately a drought relief campaign and build a movement for distribution of adequate relief in the affected areas.

Mr Rao also released resolutions adopted by the national council on the drought situation, on Sri Lanka, on the reservation issue, on the Assam situation and on Washington's "star wars" plan.

**Rift widens:** A small but influential section in the party has voiced its disagreement with the over-all party line especially the organisation's attitude to the Akali Dal.

Prominent Bombay labour leader S G Sardesai, in a note entitled "The Task Ahead" submitted to the council, took the party leadership to task for its support to the Akali Dal.

Mr Sardesai, who could not turn up because of indifferent health, wanted the party to take a "principled stand" about the Akali Dal.

CSO: 4600/1531

INDIA

## PURPOSE OF BHANDARI MISSION TO IRAN EXAMINED

Madras THE HINDU in English 30 Mar 85 p 1

[Text]

MADRAS, March 29.

Mr. R. M. Veerappan, Minister for Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments, today twitted the CPI and CPI(M) with backing the claim of defaulting tenants of temple lands to ownership.

Intervening in the resumed discussion on the State Budget in the Tamil Nadu Assembly, the Minister said that because of non-payment by tenants of even 25 per cent of the rent due to temples, the arrears had mounted to an alarming Rs. 35 crores. He wondered how such defaulters would be able to buy the land and pay the cost and asked whether anyone would guarantee it.

**'Promise not fulfilled':** The controversy figured soon after a CPI member, Mr. P. Uthirapathy, had a dig at the Government for dangling so long a promise before all tenants of temple lands that they would be made the ultimate owners. Just because a few tenants had defaulted payment of rent, the Government should not think in terms of exempting temple lands from the tenancy laws, he said, and made out a case to make the tillers the owners.

He also pleaded for writing off the loans of these tenants who faced drought and flood last year.

Mr. Veerappan reiterated that the Tamil Nadu Government had accepted in principle the demand that the tenants of temple lands should be made the owners. What stood in the way of realising this goal was the absence of clear-cut modalities, he said. He challenged the two communist parties to spell out their stand in respect of defaulters who were reluctant to pay even 25 per cent of the produce to the temples.

The Minister said that according to his information, some communist leaders had even directed the tenants of temple lands not to pay rent, as they were going to be made the owners. If such tenants were made owners, who would foot the bill, he asked.

**Charge refuted:** Quick to retort was Mr. K. Ramani (CPI-M), who refuted the charge that the tenants had been advised not to pay rent. His party had only urged the Government to write off the rent arrears of small tenants of temple lands who were in deep debts.

Mr. Veerappan said the Government was always prepared to show such consideration to those who cultivated one acre and less. What about tenants having large acreage and unwilling to pay the rent due to the temples, he asked.

Mr. Uthirapathy said that just because a few among the temple land tenants had defaulted payment, it was not proper to cast aspersions on all. He suggested that the Government sell the temple lands to the tenants and recover the cost in instalments spread over ten or 20 years.

The Minister said the tendency was strong among the temple land tenants that they need not pay the rent. If they were made the owners of the land, it might embolden them not to pay the cost of the land. Would anyone to guarantee payment, he asked.

**Temples' plight:** Mr. Veerappan said the Government had not wriggled out of its commitment to make the tenants owners of the land. It had accepted it in principle. While doing so, the Government was morally bound to ensure that the financial needs of the temples were not overlooked.

CSO: 4600/1534

INDIA

## BAHUGUNA NAMED NEW DMKP VICE PRESIDENT

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 15 Apr 85 p 1

[Text]

Mr H N Bahuguna was on Sunday named the sole vice president of the DMKP, thus emerging as the second most powerful man in the party next to its president Chaudhari Charan Singh.

Mr Devi Lal and Syed Mir Qasim, who had functioned as the party's vice presidents since its formation six months ago, have stepped down "to facilitate Mr Bahuguna's appointment", according to DMKP general secretary Satya Parkash Malviya.

Mr Devi Lal and Syed Mir Qasim will, however, continue in the party's national executive and the Parliamentary Board.

It had been widely known that Mr Bahuguna was to be appointed in the number two position of the DMKP, but he had flatly denied "any substance" in the newspaper reports which had tipped him for the appointment.

The appointment of Mr Bahuguna follows the 84-year-old Mr Charan Singh's recently stated desire to his close party colleagues to hand over the organisational affairs to a younger man in view of his advanced years.

As a first step to the proposed re-vamping of the party, the DMKP is to hold a three-day camp beginning 6 May at Brindawan in Mathura district of Uttar Pradesh to train about 200 party workers selected from different parts of the country. Most of the top leaders of the party including Mr Charan Singh and Mr Bahuguna will address the workers in the camp.

The national executive of the DMKP

in its final day's deliberations on Sunday decided to defer a decision on the proposal for the renaming of the party for some time. The executive authorised party president Charan Singh to form a five-member committee to consider the desirability of such a change, and to choose a new name if necessary.

The executive also decided to observe 1 May as the anti-budget day and directed all its district units to hold demonstrations, protest rallies and public meetings to highlight the "excessive burden" that the budget had placed on the common man.

In another resolution, the national executive charged that both the anti-reservationists in Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh and the State Governments were equally responsible for the explosive situation developing there.

The resolution said that whatever was happening in the two States in the name of anti-reservation was dangerous for the unity and the social life of the country and appealed to the anti-reservationists to call off the stir immediately.

The lengthy resolution on reservation demanded immediate fulfilment of the quota for the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes, early implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations and reservation provisions to all those who married outside their castes.

The executive welcomed the Central Government's initiative on Punjab, the holding of a judicial enquiry into the Delhi riots, and the lifting of the ban on the AISSF.

CSQ: 4600/1529

INDIA

## HINDU ANALYST ON RELATIONS WITH SRI LANKA

### Outcome of Foreign Secretary's Visit

Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Mar 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 28.

The Tamil Nadu MPs were quite worried today that there was a shift in India's policy on Sri Lanka, since the wording of the so-called communique issued in Colombo yesterday at the end of the visit of the Foreign Secretary, M. Romesh Bhandari, had created this misleading impression.

It was clarified in Delhi that there was no joint communique as such and what had been issued by the Foreign Ministry in Colombo was only a press statement giving its version of the outcome of Mr. Bhandari's visit.

But the Government of India is not disputing the fact that it has been agreed that "cessation of all acts of violence is necessary in order to create an atmosphere conducive to the resumption of a political dialogue", although it could have been more happily worded to avoid the impression of a pre-condition.

It has been India's policy all along that violence from both sides, whether it is the Tamil militants or Sri Lankan armed forces, should be stopped for creating the right atmosphere to negotiate a political settlement within the framework of a single Sri Lankan State. This position was adequately reiterated in the statement the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Khurshed Alam Khan, made in Parliament two weeks ago, saying that "violence, from whatever source, was not the answer" to Sri Lanka's ethnic problem.

**Fruitful talks:** The Foreign Secretary, who had a comprehensive exchange of views with the Sri Lankan President, Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, and his colleagues on all aspects of the Tamil problem, including the influx of refugees, the attacks on fishermen and the fate of the Stateless Tamils of Indian origin, has returned quite satisfied with the "constructive and fruit-

ful" talks which in his view had opened the way for further discussions on a peaceful settlement of the Tamil problem. The purpose of his visit was to help create the right atmosphere for defusing the tension, since he did not go to Colombo to engage in any substantive discussions on the nature or scope of the proposed settlement.

It was for this reason that Mr. Bhandari made it a point to call on as many of the Sri Lankan Ministers and other leaders as possible, including Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, to assure all of them that India was prepared to do whatever it could in finding an equitable solution that met the legitimate aspirations of the Tamil community within a united Sri Lankan State. The Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, who has been spearheading the anti-Indian hysteria in Sri Lanka, spoke in a totally different tone saying that India should help Sri Lanka in settling the Tamil problem.

The Foreign Secretary has returned from this visit reasonably satisfied that the Sri Lankan leaders realise that peace must be restored before any other steps could be taken for tackling this difficult ethnic issue that has aroused strong passions. The new dialogue initiated by India will be carried forward when the Sri Lankan Foreign Minister, Mr. A. C. S. Hameed, visits Delhi next month to attend the ministerial meeting of the Non-Aligned Coordination Bureau. He will have an opportunity to meet the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and other important personalities in the Government.

**MPs' misgivings:** The leader of the Janata Party in the Rajya Sabha, Mr. M. S. Gurupadaswamy, voiced the misgivings of several members when he raised this issue in the House

on the basis of the slant given in the so-called communique. He called for an early statement by the Government whether Mr. Bhandari's talks in Colombo reflected any dilution of the Indian position.

It became clear later today that Mr. Bhandari went on a limited mission to help improve the atmosphere and explore the prospects for defusing the tension, and he did not go into the modalities of the new dialogue or the substantive aspects of the proposed settlement. These issues can be dealt with in a calmer atmosphere free from inflamed passions.

But what is quite implicit in the so-called communique issued in Colombo is that Sri Lanka wants India to persuade or pressure the Tamil 'tigers' to give up their armed struggle before it calls off the military operations. It implies an obligation on India's part to take such steps

as might be necessary to seal off the Palk Strait from its side, which amounts to an indirect admission that the Eelam militants have been misusing Indian territory for carrying on their armed campaign.

**Bhandari meets G.P.:** The Foreign Secretary had a long session with the Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, soon after his return to Delhi. He gave him a detailed account of the talks he had with almost every one of consequence in Sri Lanka, from the President and Prime Minister to the Leader of the Opposition.

**New envoy:** It was not mere coincidence that the Government of India announced today the appointment of the next Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, Mr. J. N. Dixit, in place of Mr. S. J. S Chhatwal, who has been posted to Canada.

## Policy Clarification Desired

Madras THE HINDU in English 6Apr 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 5.

The Sri Lankan situation is due to be discussed in the Lok Sabha next week, before the all-party delegation from Tamil Nadu, led by the Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, arrives in Delhi to press for more effective steps by the Centre to bring about an equitable settlement of the island's ethnic problem.

The Opposition parties are generally lending support to the efforts of the Tamil Nadu MPs to persuade the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to intervene during the discussions. Instead of letting only the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Khurshed Alam Khan, to speak.

**'Make stand explicit':** The Tamil Nadu MPs, who are quite dissatisfied with the vaguely worded statements made by the Minister on the last two occasions, want a more explicit reiteration of the Indian stand that the legitimate demands of the Sri Lankan Tamils should be met through a lasting political solution. The need for such a reassurance has arisen because of the apprehension in Tamil Nadu that there has been a change in the Indian position and that those in Delhi are no longer upholding the Tamil cause with singular determination as was done in the past.

Though there is no reason to believe that the Government is going to abandon the Sri Lankan Tamils to their fate, the fact that Coast Guard and the Navy, as well as the customs and intelligence, have been adopting a somewhat tough attitude towards the militants has led to the feeling that there has, indeed, been some change in the Indian stance.

The Opposition parties supporting the Sri Lanka Tamils cause, or sympathising with it, want the Indian policy restated in no uncertain terms on the floor of Parliament, before the island's Foreign Minister, Mr. A. C. S. Hameed,

arrives on April 18 to attend the ministerial meeting of the Non-Aligned Coordination Bureau in Delhi. He will be having follow-up discussions with the Government of India and also meeting Mr. Gandhi to carry forward the new talks initiated during the recent visit by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, to bring about an early resumption of the stalled dialogue on the Tamil problem.

**Stir threat worrying:** Meanwhile, the Centre is quite concerned at the DMK threat to start an agitation in Tamil Nadu over alleged failure of the Government of India to safeguard the Sri Lankan Tamil interests. The Prime Minister will be happy to meet the DMK leader, Mr. M. Karunanidhi, if he responds to the Chief Minister's invitation to join the all-party delegation so that he could have a candid discussion with all of them.

Official circles in Delhi have been stressing that the recent visit by the Foreign Secretary to Colombo was intended to create the right political climate for resumption of talks between the Sri Lankan Government and the leaders of the Tamil community in a relatively calm atmosphere free from the cycle of violence. Mr. Bhandari did not deal with the substantive aspects of what in India's view would be a reasonable settlement of the Tamil problem.

This aspect of the ethnic tangle will have to be tackled at a higher political level, perhaps between the two heads of Government, after the right conditions have been created for the resumption of negotiations. It is for this reason the Government of India is also keen on clarifying its stand to assuage the ruffled feelings both in Tamil Nadu and across the Palk Strait in Sri Lanka itself that it stands fully committed to doing everything possible to bring about an effective solution to enable the Sri Lankan Tamils to live with dignity and honour as part of a united State.



## Confusion Among Politicians

Madras THE HINDU in English 9 Apr 85 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 8.

The Tamil Nadu Members of Parliament will have an opportunity to elicit further information from the Government on the Sri Lankan situation, when the Lok Sabha begins tomorrow a two-day debate on the External Affairs Ministry's budgetary demands with a full discussion on the country's foreign policy pursuits.

As Minister in charge of External Affairs, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, will be available for intervention during the debate, if required, but the Minister of State, Mr. Khurshed Alam Khan, will be replying on behalf of the Government.

Unfortunately, there are not many experienced parliamentarians from the South who can utilise such occasions for articulating vigorously the feelings of the people in Tamil Nadu and other States over the tragic events in Sri Lanka to focus national attention on the plight of the Tamil community there. If they are able to put across their point of view with greater conviction, the Prime Minister will certainly intervene to assure them that India will do its best to secure a fair deal for the Sri Lankan Tamils through a lasting political settlement.

A good many northern MPs, no doubt, sympathise in a general way with the aspirations of the Sri Lankan Tamils for an effective share of power to enable them to live with honour and security in the Northern and Eastern provinces. But they are not adequately informed about the complexities of the problem to be able to make any worthwhile contribution during the periodic discussions on the subject in Parliament.

There is a lot of confusion in both Congress (I) and Opposition circles over the purpose and scope of India's new neighbourhood diplomacy, since it has been grossly misinterpreted by some critics as an ill-conceived attempt to placate neighbouring countries at the cost of the country's self-interests. The way the whole initiative has been projected by the Government media has created a highly misleading impression as though India is the only big country with difficult neighbours that need to be appeased with all kinds of concessions to qualify for their friendship and confidence.

It is this unwarranted apprehension that India might let down the Sri Lankan Tamils in pursuit of this new policy to mollify the Jayewardene Government that has led to the current misgivings in Tamil Nadu, as though some sort of secret understanding had been reached dur-

ing the visit of the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, to restrain the Tamil Tigers under the guise of deescalating the crisis by discouraging violence. Though there is no basis at all for such fears of a sell-out or let down, the very fact that the Government has not bothered to keep Parliament better informed of what exactly transpired during the recent talks in Colombo has made the Sri Lankan Tamils—and their sympathisers in Tamil Nadu—doubly fearful of a waning interest in Delhi in their fate.

The Foreign Secretary did whatever he could during his talks in Colombo to impress on the Sri Lanka President Mr. Jayewardene and his colleagues that there was no alternative to a negotiated political settlement providing effective autonomy for the Tamil community within the framework of a united Sri Lankan State. He also stressed Indian support for the preservation of the sovereignty and integrity of Sri Lanka presupposed a peaceful and lasting settlement of the island's ethnic problem.

The Indian appeal to both sides to end the senseless violence and create a proper atmosphere for a resumption of the suspended dialogue presupposed that the Sri Lankan Government would not only call off the military operations but also give up its plans to settle more and more Sinhalese in the Northern and Eastern provinces to change their ethnic complexion. Mr. Bhandari also secured an assurance that the so-called sixth amendment to the Constitution that deprived the TULF leaders of their membership of Parliament would be revoked, once the resumed negotiations got into stride for finding a political settlement.

It is true that both Mr. Jayewardene, and the Sri Lanka Prime Minister, Mr. R. Premadasa, have been saying that they would not engage in any new dialogue until the Tamil extremists had ended their insurgency campaign. But in their private conversations with Mr. Bhandari both of them had pleaded for a continued Indian role in finding a lasting solution quite contrary to their mock heroic public postures.

The parliamentary debate affords a timely opportunity to Tamil Nadu MPs to press for further information about the outcome of Mr. Bhandari's visit and also to the Government to assure all concerned that India will continue to uphold the legitimate rights of the Sri Lanka Tamils and exert its influence in bringing about an equitable settlement.

# Thatcher Assessment

Madras THE HINDU in English 14 Apr 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 13.

The British Prime Minister, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, who arrived from Colombo today on a brief visit to Delhi, brought a personal message from Mr. J. R. Jayewardene to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi assuring that he was prepared to go all the way in finding a widely acceptable political settlement to Sri Lanka's ethnic problem, once the Tamil extremists gave up their terrorist campaign.

At her private meeting with the Indian Prime Minister lasting an hour before they were joined by their advisers for the talks on Indo-British relations, Mrs. Thatcher gave Mr. Gandhi her assessment of the Sri Lankan situation in the light of her fairly lengthy discussions in Colombo with Mr. Jayewardene and his colleagues.

But she is reported to have scrupulously avoided putting across any British suggestions, besides taking all possible care to eschew the impression that she was trying to play an intermediary role, other than stressing the need for a lasting political solution to the Tamil problem. She praised the great restraint displayed by India and the efforts it continues to make to bring about a peaceful settlement.

The British Prime Minister was evidently quite embarrassed by Mr. Jayewardene's unusually critical and harsh attack on India, in his speech at the banquet he gave in her honour, questioning the sincerity of this country in advocating a peaceful settlement of the Tamil problem. Mrs. Thatcher is reported to have strongly deplored the army atrocities on the Tamils, while cautioning him against thinking in terms of a military solution.

Mr. Gandhi stressed, in a brief reference to India's latest efforts to bring about a resumption of talks between the Sri Lankan Government and the Tamil leaders, that this complex ethnic issue could be resolved only through consultations and conciliation, not confrontation.

The main purpose of Mrs. Thatcher's overnight stop-over in Delhi was to dispel the Indian misgivings about the British reluctance to deal firmly with the activities of the Sikh extremists in Britain, remove the consequent strains that have developed in Indo-British relations and try to soothe the ruffled Indian feelings to the extent possible in these circumstances. A lot of preparatory work had been done on the eve of her arrival in Delhi to impress on Mr. Gandhi's advisers that, much as the British Government deplored the activities and utterances of these Sikh extremists,

it was unable to prosecute them for political reasons in the absence of any transgressions of British laws, however embarrassing or unpalatable might be the views expressed by them.

But since the Government of India continued to believe that Britain was adopting a rather soft and overly tolerant attitude towards these Sikh militants, Mrs. Thatcher spent considerable time explaining the limitations of the British laws and the inability of the police to take action that might not stand the scrutiny of British courts.

## Assurance on Sikh militants

She, however, assured Mr. Gandhi that the British Government would do everything possible within its power, subject to these legal limits, to curb the objectionable activities of these Sikh extremists, prevent them from using Britain as a base for carrying on hostile propaganda and prosecute those openly preaching violence. A detailed brief had been given to Mr. Gandhi by the External Affairs Ministry citing specific instances of incitement that should have normally called for stern action by the British Government. And he politely drew Mrs. Thatcher's attention to them to drive home the point that the British authorities could have acted firmly, if they wanted to do so, in the face of such hostile activity directed against a friendly nation.

The two sides did not want to engage in any further arguments after expressing their respective views and restating their positions on this question of Sikh extremist activities in Britain. The Indian Prime Minister, however, availed himself of this opportunity to give Mrs. Thatcher an idea of what was being done to settle the Punjab problem.

The attention of Mrs. Thatcher was also drawn to the formation of a so-called committee on Kashmir by some members of British Parliament for the obvious purpose of raking up this issue at the behest of Pakistan. It is not known what explanation she gave to plead her helplessness in dealing with such activities by British MPs, including those belonging to the Conservative party, other than talking to them privately about its repercussions.

An official spokesman who gave bare details of these talks said that it had been affirmed that there should be greater bilateral cooperation between India and Britain. The reference was to the stalled defence and economic deals in the wake of the recent strains in Indo-British relations.

INDIA

## HINDU ANALYST COMMENTS ON DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENTS

### Strained Relations with Opposition

Madras THE HINDU in English 31 Mar 85 p 2

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] The uneasy relationship between the ruling Congress (I), still revelling in the euphoric afterglow of its unprecedented victory in the recent parliamentary elections, and the beleaguered Opposition parties, which continue to suffer badly from the psychosomatic after-effects of their shattering defeat, is getting snarled, straining the political atmosphere again.

The country's new politics, in the wake of last year's traumatic events, is marked by baseless accusations and bitter recrimination, as though the all-powerful Union Government and the dispirited Opposition are lurching back inexorably to the pre-Emergency era of needless confrontation by simply talking themselves into irreconcilable positions and adopting provocative postures.

The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, keeps on berating the bedraggled Opposition parties by blaming them for everything that goes wrong, while his detractors miss no opportunity to pillory him for the inadequacies of his Government before the country has had a chance to settle down in the aftermath of Indira Gandhi's assassination.

### Healing Touch Missing

The smooth and swift succession, followed by a quick parliamentary poll, did help to stabilise quickly a deeply unsettling situation, but unfortunately the leadership did not rise to the occasion in providing a healing touch to erase the scars from the minds of the people. Instead of rising above the rut of controversy, Mr Rajiv Gandhi yielded to the temptation in the heat of the two electoral campaigns of questioning the patriotism of the Opposition parties, when he should have been making a determined bid to evolve bipartisan approaches to national issues of common concern to all of them.

He was ill-advised in making sweeping allegations against the Opposition parties, accusing them of placating the Akalis, fomenting communal tensions, lining up with all kinds of anti-national forces and endangering the country's interests in every possible way because of their pathological animus against Congress (I) rule.

Many of his ardent admirers wondered why he was resorting to such wild accusations, because very few even in the Government had any idea of what incriminating information he had to justify these serious accusations against the entire Opposition. For reasons better known to himself, he preferred not to take the public into his confidence at this stage even at the risk of undermining his own credibility in the bargain.

A classic dilemma that has faced almost every Government since independence is how to cope with the threat of individuals or parties denied their rightful share of representation in the legislatures through the vagaries of the electoral system, to take to the streets to assert themselves. It is this fear and suspicion that the defeated politicians would play on the miseries of the people to stir up agitations, to foment unrest and plunge the country in turmoil to embarrass those in power that make the Government see the sinister hand of its opponents behind each and every upheaval even when it has no conclusive evidence other than some unsubstantiated reports at its disposal for jumping to such a conclusion.

In the present situation, Mr Rajiv Gandhi has been infuriated by intelligence reports that some adventurist elements among the Opposition leaders were planning to precipitate a series of strikes in several key industries to stir up widespread discontent in the country as a prelude to political agitations in several States. It is not known how reliable are these reports and what influence the initiators of this diabolical bid wield for putting the Government and the Opposition parties on a collision course. A sad feature of Indian public life has been that those in authority tend often to place the worst possible construction on bits of information pieced together from different sources to justify their own predilections.

A party in power cannot afford to allow itself to be rattled by such reports in the absence of conclusive evidence. The secret of success of a Government lies not merely in its capacity to provide an efficient administration, but also in exuding an air of quiet confidence even in the face of mounting difficulties through an adverse combination of circumstances. It should have the ability as well as equanimity in keeping up a proper distinction between a conspiratorial attempt at destabilisation and a quixotic bid to bring down a strong government with street agitations. The urge to forestall or thwart such threats with equally counter-productive responses through over-reaction only ends up by generating some degree of sympathy for misplaced romanticism by making the gullible mistake the bark for the bite.

It was, therefore, unfortunate that Mr Rajiv Gandhi chose to brand the entire Opposition of being unpatriotic and blaming them for the communal riots in Ahmedabad. It naturally gave the Opposition parties a chance to tar the

whole Congress (I) with the same brush by accusing the ruling party, not just a few of its cohorts, for the Delhi carnage that followed Indira Gandhi's assassination.

The Prime Minister should have named if any Opposition leader or party was involved in the Ahmedabad riots, instead of blaming the entire Opposition. This Opposition-baiting, like the witch-hunting against the Congress (I) during the Janata rule, has only sharpened the animosities without identifying the culprits and affixing the responsibility on any party for inciting communal passions. It is most unfortunate that neither the Congress (I) nor the Opposition is prepared to acknowledge the basic reality that communalism can be fought only by bringing together all the secular forces irrespective of their political proclivities and party affiliations, not through a sectarian approach that divides the Indian polity further to the detriment of the national interests.

The biggest threat to national unity today is communalism which manifests itself in many forms, in the shape of casteism, regionalism and even linguism, giving a sharp overtone to any irrational fear or legitimate grievance. The regional agitation in Assam led to the Nellei massacre, the Akali campaign took an anti-Hindu turn, the Congress (I)--National Conference squabbles in Kashmir acquired a Hindu-Muslim complexion, the assassination of Indira Gandhi by some fanatical Sikh policemen on her security staff provoked the Delhi carnage, and now the anti-reservation campaign in Gujarat which created a lot of blood between upper caste Hindus and the so-called backward castes including Scheduled Castes and Tribes has ended up in a Hindu-Muslim riot on the assumption that the militant Dalit Panthers upholding Harijans had close links with the Muslim communalists in the State.

The sinister aspect of present-day politics cuts at the roots of Indian unity and nationalism, since it is the very negation of all that Gandhiji and Nehru stood and fought for in their life. As an inheritor of this great tradition, Indira Gandhi did her best to eradicate the communal virus from Indian life, but she failed like everybody else because of the in-built contradictions and prejudices in Indian life. When political parties in pursuit of power are obliged to pander to the whims and fancies of casteism at various levels of Indian society because of the exigencies of electoral compulsions, it is not easy to isolate its malignant influence even on class politics, linguistic controversies and regional agitations.

#### Uglier Dimension

It is seen superficially as a Hindu-Muslim conflict, but it has acquired over the years an uglier dimension with the growing caste feuds among the Hindus themselves, followed by a growing alienation of Harijans. It has been polarising broadly into a three-dimensional problem with the upper caste Hindus, Harijans and Muslims pulling in different directions. If this evil is not eradicated in good time by encouraging the new generation to develop a composite Indian personality transcending communal, caste and regional prejudice, it is going to erode the very basis of Indian unity and sense of nationhood by destroying its secular values.

When India was partitioned, the total population of undivided Pakistan did not exceed 140 millions and after the emergence of Bangladesh as a separate nation, the population of Pakistan was reduced to 80 millions even after the sharp increases during the Fifties and Sixties which led to a growth of at least 50 percent. The present Muslim population in India has either touched or exceeded 100 millions, and by the turn of the century when the total population of the country is expected to reach or cross one billion, the strength of the Muslim community will also go up proportionately to at least 160 to 180 millions because of the higher birth rate.

In the absence of fuller emotional integration, if India continues to remain sub-divided politically or socially with a collection of castes and communities based on religious and regional consideration, it would be difficult to contain the emergence of a neo-Islamic upsurge among the Muslims, if not the Harijans, seeking a new identity of their own. If the extremists among the 14 million Sikhs who constitute only two percent of the Indian population can talk in terms of a Khalistan, it would be impossible to ensure that the militant Muslims would not start thinking of another homeland of their own within the sub-continent at some point.

#### Inherent Dangers

It is time the political parties, irrespective of their ideological affiliations, started pondering over these inherent dangers without looking upon communal tensions and caste squabbles as the handiwork of anti-social elements involving only small segments of the population. The malaise is much deeper and its evil influence cannot be purged from Indian life by the top leaders blaming one another or indulging in platitudes. The problem has to be tackled with honesty and generosity, tolerance and compassion, combined with steadfast adherence to the basic values of Indian democracy and secularism.

This diverse nation cannot be integrated fully into a single entity without higher qualities of leadership that transcend political controversies and pursuits of power, so that those in the Government and the Opposition can develop an enduring bipartisan approach to communal and caste problems. A million people died during the partition holocaust and another six to eight millions were uprooted from their homes. In the last 37 years since Independence, at least another three or four lakhs have lost their lives in the communal riots in India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. And there can be no bigger blot on the face of this vast sub-continent than the frequent recrudescence of communal violence warping the minds of its peoples.

### New Party Planned

Madras THE HINDU in English 1 Apr 85 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, March 31--The Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, Mr N.T. Rama Rao and Mr Ramakrishna Hegde, who are now in Delhi, have met a number of Opposition leaders, but made no commitments on the proposal for Bharata Desam, a united Opposition party at the national level.

The two southern leaders, who have acquired all-India stature, appear wary about this move. They continue to be apprehensive that the crusty old men still dominating some of the other Opposition parties are not likely to submerge their temperamental differences, or rise above their unbridled political ambitions to form an all-India party for fighting future elections together.

Fear of failure: The lamentable failure of these squabbling parties to agree even to seat adjustments during the recent Lok Sabha elections has made Mr Rama Rao and Mr Hegde doubly cautious. Any premature attempt to form Bharata Desam, they fear, might back-fire, causing greater embarrassment to all. It is for this reason that they have not gone out of their way to meet Mr Charan Singh or Mr Jagjivan Ram during this visit, although some Opposition leaders like Dr Farooq Abdullah called on them to press for an early initiative to form Bharata Desam.

Position to maintain: Moreover, as Chief Ministers of their respective States, neither Mr Rama Rao nor Mr Hegde wants to adopt a confrontationist attitude towards the Centre in the name of confounding the ruling Congress (I) with a united opposition. The two seem equally keen on keeping a proper distinction between their governmental and party roles. This would thus enable them to continue to cooperate with the Centre on issues of national importance while pressing for more resources for the development of their respective States, without prejudice to their right to fight the Congress (I) on political issues in concert with other Opposition parties on the basis of some shared principles.

The other Opposition leaders also are not too enthusiastic about forming a Bharata Desam in a hurry, being still painfully conscious of the disastrous Janata experiment. After the sobering experience of the Lok Sabha elections, they have also become lukewarm to the idea of another Opposition conclave in the near future, until some sort of new consensus emerges on the purpose and scope of the proposed unity through private discussion.

No idea of shape: Nobody seems to have a clear idea yet whether the proposed Bharata Desam will be a coalition of Opposition parties or an altogether new party to be formed after all others shed their separate identities by dissolving themselves.

It is going to take at least a year for many of the Opposition parties to live down the humiliation of their total rout in the Lok Sabha elections. Mr Rama Rao and Mr Hegde cannot perform the miracle of uniting the Opposition parties overnight, without painstaking effort to promote the concept, consolidate the idea and bring together disparate groups by infusing a new crusading spirit and inspiring all of them with a new sense of shared mission to provide the country with a democratic alternative to one-party rule.

Unfortunately, some Opposition leaders who have lost their political moorings after the recent electoral debacles, are too impatient to wait until a new consensus has begun to take shape. They are pressing for early formation of Bharata Desam so that the magic spell of Telugu Desam in Andhra Pradesh can be extended to the rest of the country.

Cordial session: Both Mr Hegde and Mr Rama Rao had very cordial sessions with the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, who assured them of Central cooperation in the development of their States.

CSO: 4600/1503



INDIA

# HEAD OF NEW MINISTRY OF SUPPLY, TEXTILES APPOINTED

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 31 Mar 85 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, March 30--The former Bihar Chief Minister, Mr Chandra Shekhar Singh, was today appointed Minister of State with independent charge of the newly created Ministry of Supply and Textiles, reports UNI.

Mr Chandra Shekhar Singh was administered the oaths of office and secrecy at a ceremony in Rashtrapati Bhavan attended by Mr Rajiv Gandhi and his Cabinet colleagues.

He became the seventh Minister of State holding independent charge of a Ministry. With his induction, the strength of the Rajiv Gandhi Ministry rose to 41.

A Press communique from Rashtrapati Bhavan on the appointment of Mr Singh said the Finance Minister, Mr Vishwanath Pratap Singh would continue to hold temporary additional charge of the Commerce portfolio.

The Department of Supply was part of the Ministry of Commerce and Supply under Mr V.P. Singh.

The creation of a separate Ministry is in keeping with the recent policy statement of the Prime Minister on the textile industry which has a number of sick units.

Our Special Representative adds: Before Mr Chandra Shekhar Singh went to Bihar as Chief Minister, he was Minister of State for Energy in the Union Council of Ministers.

Generally speaking, those who have held the position of Chief Minister have been given the office of a full-ranking Minister in the Central Cabinet. Mr T. Anjiah, Union Minister of State for Labour, is yet another exception.

Political circles believe that the shifting of Mr Chandra Shekhar Singh to the Centre is more for the sake of Bihar politics, where the present Chief Minister, Mr Bindeshwari Dubey, is said to be under pressure from two rival groups. The removal of Mr Chandra Shekhar Singh, it is said, would ease the pressure of one group and enable Mr Dubey to carry on more smoothly.

CSO: 4600/1502

INDIA

## INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT MAKES ANNUAL REPORT

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 13 Apr 85 p 8

[Text]

"Economy is poised for an accelerated rate of industrial production" aided by record agricultural production and a favourable investment climate, Department of Industrial Development has said in its annual report for 1984-85, reports UNI.

The report said that the Government was keeping the industrial situation under constant review so that policy changes and new initiatives could be taken to ensure higher production and productivity.

The report pointed out that the general index of industrial production registered a much higher growth rate of 6.6 per cent during April to November, 1984 compared to 4.4 per cent growth achieved during April to November, 1983.

The rate of growth in composite index of six infrastructure industries during April, 1984 to January, 1985 was 10.2 per cent against 6.2 per cent in same period of the previous year.

The six infrastructure industries are electricity, coal, saleable steel, petroleum refinery products, crude petroleum and cement.

An analysis of growth of 18 major industry groups in the manufacturing sector had shown that 11 groups with a weight of 65.4 per cent of registered a "positive" growth during April to October, 1984, the report said.

Analysis of provisional production data for 150 selected industries with a weight of 83.3 per cent in the index indicated that 109 industries registered a growth of more than ten per cent and 24 industries a growth of over 25 per cent, the report said.

The public sector enterprises under the department recorded a growth of 15.6 per cent during the first nine months of 1984-85 over the corresponding period last year.

The cumulative production of the public sector enterprises under the department during April to December 1984 was valued at Rs 39530.66 lakh, 15.6 per cent higher than the production of Rs 34206.72 lakh during the corresponding period last year.

The cumulative production was, however, Rs 4168.18 lakh less than the targeted production of Rs 43698.84 lakh for nine months of 1984-85.

There was all round progress in the small scale industrial sector during 1983-84 the value of production in the small scale sector went up by 9.8 per cent over 1982-83, the report said.

The overall production in khadi and village industries for 1984-85 was estimated at Rs 1000 crore compared with that of Rs 874.92 crore during 1983-84.

Despite the increase in threshold for industrial licensing from Rs three crore to Rs 5 crore, the number of letters of intent issued during 1984 went up to 1064 against 1055 in 1983.

The total value of capital goods cleared for import by the Government amounted to Rs 713.47 crore during 1984, registering an increase of 17.6 per cent over the 1983 figures of Rs 606.95 crore.

Referring to various governmental steps to maximise production and achieve higher productivity, the report pointed out that procedure for dealing with the applications from Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) houses had been streamlined.

With a view to ensure simultaneous consideration of applications for industrial licences and clearance under MRTP Act, it had been decided that the industrial undertakings registered or registerable under the MRTP Act

would make simultaneous applications under MRTP Act and Industrial Development (Regulation) Act.

With a view to optimise utilisation of capacity and encouraging larger volume of production the Government allowed broad categorisation of licensing to four industries. This would help the industries to adjust their products mix depending on the market demand.

The industries are motorised two wheelers, four-wheeler vehicles, chemical pharmaceuticals, petrochemicals, fertilizer machinery and paper and pulp.

Referring to the sick industries, the report said that efforts were made during the year to explore various alternative solutions for the final disposition of 47 undertakings being managed by the Government. As a result of this 17 units were nationalised during the year, 1984.

Out of 905 industrial licences issued during 1984, total share of the backward areas was 296 and 27 in no industry districts.

While considering applications for 100 per cent export oriented units, the board of approval cleared 63 letters of intent, 94 permission letters 22 foreign collaboration approval letters during 1984.

Out of 856 applications for foreign collaboration in new industrial undertakings submitted during the year, 465 were approved by the secretariat of industrial approvals.

As regards non-resident Indians investment, the report pointed out that since November, 1983, the special approval committee for NRI approved till December last year a total of 213 applications including 143 capital goods approvals.

In various schemes covered by the approvals under NRI scheme, the total investment in fixed assets was estimated to be Rs 398 crore and the investment by NRI about Rs 81 crore.

CS0: 4600/1526

INDIA

#### POOR MONSOON PORTENDS LOWER GRAIN PRODUCTION

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 31 Mar 85 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, March 30--A poor monsoon in several areas last year and the failure of winter rain in large parts of the country have affected the production of foodgrain, though officials fear no shortages. The projected figure for 1984-85 kharif and rabi crops output is 153.6 million tons against a production of 149.8 million tons in 1983-84.

The Agriculture Minister, Mr Buta Singh, has already claimed that despite drought in several States, the level of last year's foodgrain production would be maintained. He admits that the target of grain production in 1984-85 (153.6 million tons) cannot be reached. His optimism that there would be no drop in the output appears to be based on official reports which said that last year's kharif crop was 45.14 million tons against 42.79 million tons in 1983--an increase of 2.35 million tons in a single crop.

The dry spell in the first three weeks of winter and even later in many parts of the country would appear to have made it difficult for the rabi crop target to be achieved. Officials, however, claim that farmers took advance action and sowed gram and oilseeds as they feared that in the absence of irrigation and winter rain it may not be possible to grow wheat and paddy everywhere.

Officials point out and even critics of the Government admit that the grain stock is good. Even if there is a shortfall in production, the buffer stock could be used to supply to any part of the country facing severe shortage.

It is officially stated that in the irrigated areas--and there are some which have an excess of water--sunshine is as important as rain and this was available in abundance to ripen the crops.

Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh are three States which have faced severe drought and the condition in some areas of these States is quite distressing though there has been no famine.

Andhra's distress has been so great that it has repeatedly requested for Central assistance and when its demands could not be met in full, it blamed the Centre.

CSO: 4600/1502

INDIA

#### HIGH-THRUST JET FOR FIGHTER PLANES BEING TESTED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 26 Feb 85 p 4

[Text] Bangalore, February 24 (PTI)--The first high-thrust jet engine for fighter aircraft being indigenously developed at the Gas Turbine Research Establishment (GTRE) here is undergoing trials on the test bed.

The engine is a variant of the 10,000-pound thrust BTX engine successfully demonstrated by GTRE three years ago.

The GTRE director, Dr Arun Prasad, said that in the last two years major improvements had been made in the engine to make it suitable for the light combat aircraft (LCA) scheduled to be built in India in the 1990s.

To be known as GTX-35, the engine has successfully been test run at 84 percent of the specified thrust for the LCA. "We are constantly updating the engine introducing newer Technologies into it and this work will be over in 1986," Dr Prasad said.

He said ten prototypes would be produced by 1990 which would have to be type-certified after 150 hours continuous operation before it was accepted as a power plant for LCA.

The engine development has received top priority and a sanction of Rs 80 crores.

When fully developed the GTX-35 would produce a thrust of 10,000 pounds. GTRE scientists have also built and tested an after-burner stage that would push up the thrust to 15,000 pounds.

Dr Prasad said GTRE had all the facilities to test the engine except at simulated high altitudes. These tests would be done abroad.

The LCA which was to be initially powered by a Promen imported engine, would switch to GTX-35 after it was type-certified, Dr Prasad said.

GTRE, one of the major defence establishments, grew from a small centre of 25 scientists at Kanpur in the late 1950s when it learned to build jet engines by reworking parts of discarded Aero engines.

After moving to Bangalore in 1961, GTRE designed and built an after-burner for the Orpheus engine that powered the HF-24 combat aircraft. In 1977 it indigenously produced the GTX.

"Our major achievement was in developing the engine with high throttle ratio for uniform performance of aircraft taking off from different airfields-- at sea level or in mountains and from sub-zero to plus 40 deg (C) temperatures," Dr Prasad said.

Dr Prasad said the government decision to produce LCA indigenously had given a fillip to aero-engine development.

"Our experience indicates that engine technology needs to be continuously updated so that the engine remains contemporary even in the 1990s," he said.

He said a number of advanced research projects on compressors, turbines, combustors and computer-aided design had been taken up in anticipation of the LCA project.

"We are extremely confident of developing the engine for LCA," Dr Prasad said, adding that it normally took about 15 years to develop an advanced technology engine "from conceptual stage to production."

He said GTX-35 would make use of some of the latest metallurgical and forging technologies that came from the defence metallurgical research laboratory in Hyderabad.

Dr Prasad said GTRE would add more computer-controlled machines that would produce engine parts automatically using information on punched tape.

CSO: 4600/1499

INDIA

# OFFICIAL REVEALS INDIA UPDATING DEFENSE PLANS

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 29 Mar 85 p 5

[Text]

New Delhi, March 28 (UNI): "India cannot sit back and watch the qualitative increase," in the military strength of other countries and will continue to constantly update its own strength accordingly, the minister of state for external affairs, Mr. Khurshed Alam Khan said today.

Without divulging details, he assured the Rajya Sabha that the country's naval and military plans were being "suitably updated."

Mr. Khan said India had appealed at various forums for declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and also protested against the presence of super-powers in the region.

Mr. Khan said the meeting of the international ad hoc committee on declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace had been postponed till 1986.

He said the government had no knowledge of the deployment of Chinese submarines in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea, but a constant vigil was being kept over the induction of outside naval forces. Defence plans were being updated to meet emerging situations, he added.

When a member wanted to know why the naval allocation in the Budget had been reduced from 11 per cent to eight per cent, the Prime minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, asked: "Where do we cut the money from (for increasing the naval budget)?"

CSO: 4600/1500

INDIA

DEFENSE MINISTRY REPORT REVIEWS SITUATION IN AREA

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 18 Apr 85 p 14

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 17.

INDIA has expressed concern over Pakistan's "relentless pursuit of nuclear weapons capability with the assistance and connivance of certain countries".

This has added a new dimension to our security environment, says the annual report of defence ministry in a review of the situation in the neighbourhood.

Referring to Pakistan as India's "principal security concern," the report says Pakistan has taken full advantage of the continued Soviet presence in Afghanistan and the situation in West Asia to project its role as a frontline state in the strategic perception of the U.S.

The report says the sophisticated equipment being acquired by Pakistan was far beyond its legitimate defence needs and would bestow on it an offensive capability. It lists these systems as updated F-16 fighter aircraft, improved Tow missiles, Harpoon missiles, Vulcan Phalanx, air defence equipment, Mohawk Battlefield Surveillance Aircraft and the Hawkeyes early warning system.

The report mentions several measures to build up adequate defence preparedness and modernisation of the armed forces. "As a developing country, much as we would like to commit our resources for economic development, our defence plans cannot afford to ignore the reality of our security environment".

Reviewing the situation in the region, the report says one of the recent developments of grave concern is the likely nuclearisation of the sub-continent. "There are two nuclear weapon powers, China and the Soviet Union,

in our neighbourhood and in the waters of the Indian Ocean is deployed the powerful task force of a third nuclear weapon power—the United States."

It says the Indian Ocean area continues to be a major concern with the increase in naval and military presence of big powers and other extra-regional powers in the area.

There is a reasonable apprehension that the political and economic instability of some of the littoral states would make them vulnerable to the attempts by the big powers for base facilities in these countries. The proposal of declaring the Indian Ocean area as a zone of peace has receded further into the background, it says.

LANKA ISSUE

Referring to the ethnic Tamil problem in Sri Lanka, the report says a political solution acceptable to all concerned would lead to peace and harmony. The report has expressed concern at the reported induction of foreign security and intelligence agencies and Sri Lanka's unilateral declaration of a surveillance zone around its northern and eastern coasts to prevent the alleged traffic of militants from India.

Though relations with Bangladesh continue to be cordial, India's well-intentioned decision to erect a barbed wire fence on our side of the border to prevent illegal migration from Bangladesh, has been made a big political issue.

The border question with China has not been settled inspite of five rounds of talks. There has been no significant change in our relations with China. China, in the meantime, has launched



a massive programme of modernisation of its defence forces.

Referring to the 1980-85 defence plan, the report says that accelerated modernisation and replacement of equipment, indigenisation for self-reliance and the growth of self-supporting research and development set-up were the objectives of this plan and would continue to be the guiding factors.

For the modernisation of the fleet of tanks, attempts are being made to improve the first-hit capability, provide night fighting devices and increasing the power-to-weight ratio.

While the T-72m tank has been accepted as the main battle tank, the requirements of which are being met through imports, research and development was continuing for "chetak," the indigenous main battle tank.

For the navy, the construction of the first submarine has commenced at Mazagon Docks. Three in-shore minesweepers and one landing ship tank have joined the navy. The second batch of Sea Harriers, acquired by the navy, has arrived.

For the Air Force, the first Mirage-2000 aircraft for training of IAF pilots has been delivered by the French company. MIG-27 fighter aircraft has been inducted into the service while the IL-76 is to augment IAF's capability in the heavy transport area. The Dornier 228, to be manufactured under licence in India, will be inducted this year.

The first indigenously manufactured instrument landing system has been installed at an air base. The first UHF communication equipment for air-to-ground link produced by a public sector undertaking, is under trial.

Referring to new projects, the report says that these involve an investment of Rs. 1,200 crores and are in different stages of execution.

The total value of production achieved through defence research and development projects has reached Rs. 500 crores. The second trial of the main battle tank has been completed. Progress was made during the year with regard to major R & D projects, such as the Light Combat aircraft, user trials on the air launched missile target, development of GTX engine designed to power the future combat aircraft, and a number of new armaments have been developed.

CSO: 4600/1530

INDIA

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR PRESENTS CREDENTIALS--Beijing, March 28--India and China today expressed a desire to improve their relations as the new Indian Ambassador, Mr K.P.S. Menon, presented his credentials to the President, Mr Li Xinannian two days after his arrival here. The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi and other Indian leaders were sincere in their desire to improve relations with China, said Mr Menon who last served in Tokyo. The border issue was important for India, but New Delhi had a constructive approach to the issue, he told the President, who said the border issue was the only problem between the world's two most populous nations. The problem could be resolved if both countries followed the principles of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation, he said. Beijing had noted with satisfaction the friendly sentiments expressed by Mr Gandhi and Chinese leadership too, was sincere in its desire for improvement of relations with India, Mr Li said, welcoming Mr Menon to China. The Chinese reception of Mr Menon's credentials within two days of his arrival here was seen as a gesture towards India. Mr Menon and Mr Li also had a general discussion on nuclear disarmament and development, the situation in South East Asia and South Asia, Indian Embassy sources said. Mr Menon said both India and China ought to cooperate to halt the continuing nuclear arms race and in the field of development. Mr Li also favoured India-China and South-South cooperation. PTT [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Mar 85 p 8]

INDO-SOVIET SHIPPING TALKS--Bombay, April 13--The Indo-Soviet joint committee on shipping, which met for five days in Goa, till yesterday, placed emphasis on palletisation of cargo, Mr Victor Nikolaichuk, the Soviet deputy minister for shipping told a news conference here today. Very little cargo moving in the trade between the two countries was being palletised, he said. The committee, at its seventh session, also decided on giving a boost to containerisation of cargo. Only 200,000 tonnes of cargo among 3.8 million tonnes moving in the trade last year was containerised, he said, adding that much of the cargo from the USSR to India could not be containerised. While 12,000 containers moved from India to the USSR, only 1,000 container load of goods moved in the reverse direction. Attention was also given to proper packaging of goods to minimise damage and loss during transit, the minister said. Asked about freight increase, he said the committee did not discuss it, but there had to be increase in freight periodically when the costs went up. Mr Nikolaichuk said that the ship turn-around time in ports here and in the USSR had improved since last year. The trade had

grown in the 30 years since the beginning of the bilateral shipping service more than 20 times in volume from 60,000 tonnes in 1956, the minister said. Mr J.D. Mehta, executive director of the shipping corporation of India, who was present, said 80 percent of the cargo moving from India to the U.S.S.R. could be containerised. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 14 Apr 85 p 5]

POPE'S PLANNED VISIT--New Delhi, April 6--Pope John Paul II will pay an official visit to India in the beginning of February 1986, reports PTI. This was officially announced here today. He will be visiting India at the invitation of President Zail Singh. The last Papal visit took place in 1964 when the Pope came to Bombay to address a congress. [Text] [Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 7 Apr 85 p 7]

INVITATION TO CPI-M--New Delhi, April 13--The Soviet Communist Party has officially invited the Communist Party of India (Marxist) to the 40th anniversary celebrations of victory over Fascism, in Moscow, between May 7 and 11. The Communist Party of India, which is officially recognized by the Soviet party as the fraternal party in India, has also been invited. This means that the Communist Party of Soviet Union has decided to treat the CPI and the CPI(M) on equal terms. The invitation to the Marxist Communists assumes significance since the CPI(M) does not have an official fraternal relationship with the CPSU. Therefore, the decision of the CPSU to invite a two-member delegation of the CPI(M) is seen in Communist circles as an important development. It is stated in Communist circles that the CPSU has decided in principle to recognize the existence of two Communist parties in one country. This is interpreted as the CPSU's gesture to have de facto party-to-party fraternal relationship with the Marxist Communists in India for the time being. This will be followed up with the granting of official recognition to the CPI(M) by the CPSU, which is considered the "vanguard revolutionary party" in the Communist world. The CPI will send a four-member delegation. [Text] [Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 14 Apr 85 p 1]

INDO-BANGLADESH RAILWAY PROTOCOL--Talks between Indian and Bangladesh Railway officials, which began in Calcutta on Tuesday, ended on Saturday, according to a Press Note issued by the Eastern Railway. The issues discussed included movement of coal to Bangladesh. A protocol was signed. The delegation from Bangladesh was headed by Janab Lutfar Rahman, Chief Operating Superintendent (West), Gangladesh Railway, and the Indian delegation was led by Mr D.K. Kar, Financial Advisor and Chief Accounts Officer, Eastern Railway. [Text] [Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 7 Apr 85 p 3]

PUNJAB FOREIGNERS' BAN--Chandigarh, April 8 (PTI)--The Foreigners (restricted area) Order, 1963, under which Punjab was declared a restricted area on June last year, has been further extended to July 2 next, it was officially stated here today. Under the order no foreign national can enter or remain in Punjab except in accordance with permits issued by the competent authority unless the visas on their passports contained special endorsements to visit Punjab or travel through it. The announcement said foreign nationals who were already in Punjab with valid visas like citizens of Commonwealth coun-

ries would have to apply to the government through the concerned district magistrate for grant of a restricted area permit to stay in Punjab. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 9 Apr 85 p 4]

EXPORTS TO UNITED STATES--New Delhi, March 31 (PTI)--Indian exports to the US increased by 16.5 percent during 1984 with the figure standing at \$2,551 millions as against \$2,190 millions during 1983. In fact, US imports of Indian goods have shown a continuously increasing trend in the recent past. Starting with a figure of \$1,202.21 millions worth of exports during 1981, the figure rose to \$1,403 millions in 1982 and \$2,190 millions the following year, an official press release says. Items which showed significant increase during the period January to November 1984, as compared to the same period in 1983, include diamonds, ready-made garments, petroleum products, cashew nuts, cotton fabrics, plants, seeds, flowers, jewellery and related products, electrical machinery, leather and leather products, parts of office machines, and household sanitary ware. Among these items, export of readymade garments went up to \$279.9 millions during the period January-November 1984 from \$200.8 millions during the same period of the previous year. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 1 Apr 85 p 8]

NEW INTUC PRESIDENT--Bombay (PTI)--Mr G. Ramanujam has been unanimously elected president of the Indian National Trade Union Congress, according to an Intuc press note issued on Sunday. The election followed the resignation of Mr Bindeshwari Dubey, who has taken over as the new chief minister of Bihar. Mr Kanti Mehta has been elected general secretary and Mr Gopeshwar, MP, treasurer, the note added. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 1 Apr 85 p 1]

COOPERATION WITH NORWAY--New Delhi, April 13--India and Norway have finalised plans to set up a joint software development and export company using advanced computers from Norway and technical professionals from this country. The visiting Norwegian delegation led by the vice-minister, Mr Arne Synnes, concluded talks yesterday with the Indian delegation headed by Dr M.S. Sanjeevi Rao, chairman of the electronics commission. The two countries in October last year had signed a memorandum of understanding that paved the way for enhanced co-operation in this high-technology field. There will be an apex body like Indo-Norwegian software development and export consortium in India at the government level. For the joint company to be formed in collaboration with A.S. Computas of Norway, the department of electronics will designate Indian companies. The electronics department's National Informatics Centre will be assisted by A.S. Veritec, another Norwegian company, in the field of computer-aided engineering. It is understood that the first of these machines was supplied to the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre in December 1983. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 14 Apr 85 p 9]

USSR DEAL DENIED--New Delhi, April 9 (PTI)--The defence ministry today denied a report in a section of the local press that India had discussed an "unprecedented defence deal" with the Soviet Union during the recent visit of the defence minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, to Moscow. Mr Rao, the defence ministry said in a press release, had discussed the ongoing projects and other matters of mutual interest between India and the Soviet

Union. It said the report that India was to acquire latest technology in nuclear propulsion, military hardware and other sophisticated items was pure speculative. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 10 Apr 85 p 9]

PUNJAB MONITORING PANEL--New Delhi, March 28 (PTI)--The Union government has constituted a six-member high-level group to continuously monitor the economic and social development of Punjab. The cabinet secretary, Mr P.K. Kaul, will head the group. The members of the official group are the secretaries of departments of power, finance, culture and irrigation and the chairman of the railway board. The constitution of the group comes in the wake of the announcement by the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, at Hussainiwala in Punjab recently about a package of economic benefits to the state for speeding up the pace of its development. UNI adds: The latest political situation in Punjab was reviewed here today at a meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and the Punjab governor, Mr Arjun Singh. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 29 Mar 85 p 1]

NEW POLITICAL PARTY--A new political party, Bharat Desam (West Bengal) was formed at a meeting in Calcutta on Wednesday. Mr Biswanath Acharya was elected its president. Criticizing the Congress (I) and the Left Front, the meeting urged the Telugu Desam leader, Mr N. T. Rama Rao, to set up a Bharat Desam party at the national level. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 12 Apr 85 p 7]

NAXALITE MEETING--Santiniketan, April 10--A renewed attempt is afoot to bring all the CPI(M-L) and isolated Naxalite factions, other than those still indulging in individual acts of violence under the banner of a single party on an all-India basis. A secret three-day conclave of Naxalite leaders from different States was held in a village near Bolpur in the last week of March with a view to forging unity. Among the participants were Mr Kanu Sanyal (member of the Organizing Committee of Communist Revolutionaries), Mr Umadhar Singh (lone MLA of the CPI (M-L) Central Organizing Committee) from Bihar who won in the recently-held Assembly poll in that State, Mr M.H. Krishnappa (secretary, Indian Communist Party) from Karnataka, Mr Ravishankhar, secretary of the Kaimur unit of the CPI (M-L) in Uttar Pradesh, Mr Shafique Chowdhury, secretary, United Committee of the Communist Revolutionaries (Marxist-Leninists), Mr Kalavenkayya, a former Marxist MP from Andhra, and Mr K.P.P. Gopalan from Kerala. According to informed sources, the leaders deprecated the policy of annihilation. It is learnt the proposed party's constitution and programme are being drafted by a committee entrusted with the task. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 11 Apr 85 p 11]

INDO-SOVIET TECHNOLOGY PACT--New Delhi, April 10--India and the Soviet Union today signed a new five-year Agreement of Cooperation in the fields of science and technology which will cover new areas like biotechnology and electronics. The agreement was signed on behalf of the Indian National Science Academy (INSA) by its president, Prof C.N.R. Rao, and on behalf of the Soviet Academy of Sciences by Mr Valentin Afanasyevich Koptug after discussions which last about 10 days. Present at the signing ceremony were

the Secretaries for Science and Technology, Environment and Forests and Development and Ocean, Mr Yash Pal, Mr T.N. Khoshoo and Mr S.Z. Qasim, and former presidents of INSA. Fourth programme: Today's agreement is the fourth such programme, and will also cover fields like computer application, surface science, catalysts development and applied mechanics. Under the programme-- which has been made flexible to include new developing areas of research-- there will be exchange of scientists and of equipment. There will also be regular exchange of results of research work. Prof Rao said there would be joint meets on various subjects including one to be held soon on applied mechanics. A study of possible outputs for industrial use will also be done, Mr Koptug said. Mr Koptug is vice-president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and president of its Siberian division. He is leading a nine-member delegation which also visited Pune, Bangalore and Bombay. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Apr 85 p 9]

ESPIONAGE GANG BUSTED--Jammu, April 3--Police claimed today to have busted a Pakistani espionage network with the arrest of four Pakistani nationals from Jammu district. Official sources said the arrested persons had confessed that they had been operating in the area for the last five years and working for the field intelligence unit "FIU," a Pakistan military intelligence organisation.--PTI [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 4 Apr 85 p 10]

BHEL FUEL ECONOMY--New Delhi--The development of a system to reduce fuel oil consumption in thermal power plants through in-house R&D in Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited is regarded as a major breakthrough. According to BHEL, fuel oil worth as much as Rs 400 crores can be saved annually if all the coal-based thermal power plants instal this system. The new system will also reduce the usage of oil in coal-fired boilers by 90 percent. Known as direct ignition of pulverised coal (DICP) the system uses a dense coal-air mixture instead of coal as the supporting flame for main coal burners. Use of this system in a typical 210 MW thermal set would lead to an annual saving of nearly 11,000 tonnes of oil worth Rs 3.3 crores. Now among the four top boiler manufacturers in the world, BHEL is geared to offer this system commercially to new power plants as well as to those already in operation. BHEL in-house R&D is now trying to develop a system which will lead to a total elimination of the use of oil in coal-fired boilers. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 10 Apr 85 p 28]

REPUBLICAN PARTY SPLIT--Nagpur, April 10--The Republican Party of India, which had forged unity among its factions just before the recent Assembly elections, virtually split today with the Working President and former Chairman of Maharashtra Legislative Council, Mr R.S. Gavai being suspended from the party by the Party President, Mr D.A. Katti. The differences between Mr Katti and Mr Gavai arose when the two issued separate lists of candidates for the Nagpur Municipal Elections and claimed their lists as authorised ones. Mr Gavai, who was also Chairman of the Parliamentary Board of the United RPI, when contacted, said he ignored the notice sent by Mr Katti. "I do not attach any value to it," he said. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Mar 85 p 9]

CSO: 4600/1535

IRAN

FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER MADANI INTERVIEWED ON IRAN

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 26 Apr 85 p 8

[Interview with Adm Ahmad Madani, former Iranian defense minister, by Rafael Fraguas; date and place not given]

[Text] Ahmed Madani, a well-known 56-year old Iranian admiral, is the name that Western conservative circles mention most often as a nonreligious candidate to succeed 85-year old Ayatollah Khomeyni upon his death. Several moderate factions in the Tehran regime offered Madani the top spot in the Iranian Government and in the Armed Forces a year and a half ago, but he rejected the offer. Defense minister and commander of the navy under the first Iranian revolutionary government in 1979, he later served as governor of Khuzistan and ran for president of the republic in 1980.

In 1978, the year before the Iranian revolution, Adm Ahmed Madani became a member of the Central Council of the National Front, a nationalist party, and helped found the League for the Defense of Human Rights. After receiving threats, he left Iran secretly. He is married and has two children. Today he resides in West Germany and France, from where he closely monitors events in his country.

Question: As a military man, what solution do you see to the war between Iran and Iraq?

Answer: I don't think there is a military solution to the war between Iran and Iraq, which has now become a war between Iran and several Arab countries. The only solution to the war is political, with the mediation of other countries.

Question: Can Iran win the war, with the infantry as the cornerstone of its military strategy?

Answer: There will be no winners or losers in the war between Iran and Iraq. Both sides are being destroyed. An infantry, even if very large, is not effective against modern weapons.

Question: It is reported that when you were governor of Khuzistan, you cracked down on the Left and were particularly cruel.

Answer: All of the accusations leveled at me, an independent patriot, a moderate and a faithful servant and follower of the political line of the late lamented Dr Mohammad Mosaddeq, are false propaganda. They have been trumped up and publicized by the traditionalist, extremist wing of the government and its leftwing allies and collaborators (Mujahidin-Tudeh). The Iranian people did not believe these lies and supported me in the elections.

Question: Have you received any political offers from the Tehran regime?

Answer: Yes. About a year and a half ago they offered me the post of prime minister and commander in chief of the Armed Forces. I couldn't accept because the political conditions of the offer were not in keeping with my moderate, democratic and constructive political philosophy.

Question: Who made you the offer?

Answer: An influential moderate wing of the Tehran regime.

Question: Do you acknowledge the authority of Ayatollah Khomeyni?

Answer: I have never acknowledged the authority that arises from the Velayat e Faqhi, the Supremacy of the Wise, and that the Islamic Constitution vested in the Ayatollah Khomeyni. I have not acknowledged it because it has never existed in the Muslim religion, specifically in Shiism. It runs counter to the very essence of religion, and this is why when the Islamic Constitution was put to a vote, I voted against this article. I do acknowledge, however, that Ayatollah Khomeyni has been the Supreme Guide of the revolution of the Iranian people.

Question: What happened, then?

Answer: What happened was that the traditionalist Islamic government strayed from the original path of this great revolution, which was based on humanitarian and democratic ideals. This was the main reason for my opposition to the current regime. They have violated the rights of our people.

Question: What can you do for the future of Iran?

Answer: If the powerful national forces do not organize beforehand, Iran might become the scene of a fratricidal war after the death



of Ayatollah Khomeyni. This is my main concern. To ward off this danger I am working tirelessly with the influential moderates in government and with the moderate national forces inside Iran and overseas.

Question: What is your political agenda for Iran?

Answer: What distinguishes mine from other opposition plans is the use of the phrase "the replacement of the traditionalist, extremist government by a moderate government" instead of the word "overthrow," which implies violence. I am in favor of a national republic with universal suffrage.

Question: What future do you see for the Islamic regime after Ayatollah Khomeyni's death?

Answer: The current traditionalist, extremist regime, with the authority of the Velayat e Faqhi, will have no chance for survival.

Question: With what political forces would you enter into a transition pact?

Answer: With the moderate, republican national forces. But as a staunch democrat, I believe that all Iranian political forces, from the Far Left to the Right, from the republicans to the monarchists, have to take part in politics in our country.

Question: Which superpower would you place Iran closer to, the United States or the USSR?

Answer: I support the principle of nonalignment and neutrality.

Question: What political and social role would you assign to the Islamic clergy in the Iran of the future?

Answer: The function of religion is to instill spirituality in life and to develop an instinctual love for man. The affairs of state and national politics demand competent, specially trained men.

8743

CSO: 3548/120

IRAN

BRIEFS

**ARAK FACTORY OPERATIONS BEGIN--**Navard aluminimum factory in Arak has begun operating. The factory was built by Iranian experts and will produce various types of aluminium sheets ranging from 0.5 to 2 mm in various shapes. The factory has cold and hot rolling mills and a foundry and 400 employees. The capacity of the cold rolling mill is 22,000 tons per year, which currently supplies 30 percent of the needs of the country. The factory cost 3.15 billion rials to construct. [Summary] [Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 8 May 85 GF]

CSO: 4640/551

PAKISTAN

WALI KHAN SAYS COUNTRY 'ON EDGE OF PRECIPICE'

Karachi DAWN in English 22 Apr 85 p 8

[Text]

KARACHI, April 21: Khan Abdul Wali Khan, President of the outlawed National Democratic Party, warned on Sunday against pursuing the British-made policy of "too little, too late," saying that the feeler advanced today about confederation could be stretched to "something else" later.

For, he noted, the change in certain people's way of thinking was a logical corollary to "inept, inflexible and unimaginative policy" of the eight-year-old regime.

Addressing the Karachi Press Club's "Meet-the-Press" forum, he recalled that as the Leader of the Opposition he had signed on the 1973 Constitution document in violation of the manifesto of National Awami Party (NAP). He had stated on the floor of the House pointing to the late Prime Minister, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto: "Knowing well that I have no confidence in you, I am reposing confidence in you just because of the crucial hour of the nation's destiny."

Mr. Wali Khan said the country today had "most unfortunately" been led once again to the edge of a precipice. The unanimously-adopted 1973 Constitution had been "entirely defaced." One Unit imposed in "its worst form," all power concentrated in one man's hand and, what is more, Punjab with its 63 per cent weightage had been lined up against the combined 37 per cent of the three minority provinces as a result of the Provincial Assemblies having to elect the future President in conjunction with Parliament, he added.

Mr. Wali Khan dispelled the notion that talking of the rights of smaller federating units was tantamount to instigating the parochial, regional or provincial feelings. "The autonomy issue is a basic issue inter-linked as if is with the very unity and integrity of Pakistan," he declared.

His contention was that the four brothers (Punjabis, Pakhtoons, Sindhis and Baluch) in the same house (Pakistan) could remain and live as brothers only when each one of them had equal share in the administration of house affairs and also equal access to the means of production.

This, he asserted, was not only the moral, legal and constitutional propriety but also the Islamic way of life.

For the past 38 years the issue of provincial autonomy had been tackled "lop-sidely and evasively," — first in the form of parity and then One Unit. This resulted in "Udhar Tum, Idhar Ham," and gave birth to Bangladesh, Wali Khan observed.

"During the days of East Pakistan the nagging proposition of provincial autonomy had turned into a case of East Pakistan's 54 per cent versus West Pakistan's 46 per cent weightage. Today the weightage has turned into the Punjab's 63 per cent versus the three other provinces' 37 per cent — a more risky position," he thought.

In the same context, as he was referring to the establishment of Pakistan, Mr. Wali Khan said: "The partition of India had taken place though we (the Khudai

Khidmatgars) regarded it as the partition of Muslims (of the subcontinent)."

Mr Wali Khan pointed out that the day the question of transfer of power on the basis of one-man-one-vote cropped up, the concept of Pakistan was "negated," because the population of one province (East Pakistan) was larger than the combined four provinces of the Western Wing. "It was then just to lay the blame on the elements opposed to Pakistan," he averred.

He recalled that the late Shaikh Mujibur Rehman's Six Points were deliberately twisted to create a scare in the minds of the West Pakistanis, although in reality the then rulers did not want to give power to Shaikh Mujib's majority party.

"I was recalled by former President Yahya Khan from London to proceed to Dhaka and talk to Mujib, and when I asked him what he actually wanted, Mujib turned round and told me: Mind you, you are talking to a veteran Muslim Leaguer." Wali Khan said he had opposed tooth and nail Shaikh Mujib's Six Points in his own East Pakistan constituency.

Reverting to the post-referendum-cum-election scenario, the NDP chief said the President had become "persona non grata" as a result of negative vote in the De-

cember 1984 referendum as he had voluntarily surrendered his position as the CMLA and asked for vote to become President for an additional five-year term.

Mr Wali Khan asked how three outlawed political parties — the PML (Pagara group), Jamaat-i-Islami and Maulana Kausar Niazi's Progressive People's Party — could be allowed to take part in a non-party poll, and said that since they had done so, the election should have been declared null and void.

Besides, he said, why the provision binding the elected representatives to submit their return of election expenses was forgone, knowing well that lakhs of rupees had been spent by almost every candidate, far exceeding the Election Commission's limit of Rs 25,000 and Rs 40,000.

Mr Wali Khan said the question of recognising the present assemblies did not arise for the simple reason that they had not come into being as a result of election on a party basis under the 1973 Constitution and the rules thereunder.

He asked why the President "unilaterally" made vital amendments to the Constitution when the assemblies were created through the

democratic process of his own choice.

Talking of dangers posed to Pakistan's unity and territorial independence, Mr Wali Khan said pointing to a US National Security Council document: "Let Pakistan note that the US wants to use it as a decoy on which Russian military hardware will be wasted." He said the Russian hardware would be wasted, but "what will be our end?"

He said it was in the global interest of the US that politicians remained deprived of the power to run the administration of the country and frame its self-enlightened, independent policy.

In another context, Mr Wali Khan said it was interesting to note that while hydel power (at Warsak, Tarbela, Dargai and Malakand) was available in the NWFP, the electric switch was in Lahore, and the NWFP remained subjected to eight hours of load-shedding every day.

He said the raw material, labour and hydel power belonging to the NWFP were being "exported" to industries elsewhere in Pakistan. An American correspondent visiting him lately said: "This is sheer madness". Mr Wali Khan added he immediately intervened to tell the American: "Shut up, you are talking of breaking Pakistan".

PAKISTAN

USSR SAID EXERTING PRESSURE ON PAKISTAN

Karachi DAWN in English 22 Apr 85 p 1

[Text]

THE Soviet Union is putting pressure on Pakistan to end its support to Afghan Mujahideen fighting in Afghanistan against Soviet-Karmal forces.

Quoting 'Sunday Times,' BBC reported that this pressure was being exerted by some elements within Pakistan who are asking President Zia to end the conflict.

The newspaper has carried a report by its New Delhi correspondent who said the pressure would further increase when the National Assembly would meet next month in Islamabad.

It said about 70 members of the National Assembly were of the view that President Zia should initiate a dialogue with the Afghan government to end the conflict.

The paper said Air Marshal (retd) Nur Khan believed a number of outlawed political parties in Pakistan were of the view that Pakistan had become a part of the US military strategy and these parties were very much concerned

about this state of affairs.

It said Mr. Gorbachev, the Kremlin leader, was tired of prolonged war in Afghanistan and he might try to bring it to an end. The paper quoted Western observers in Islamabad as saying that the Soviet Union might increase the number of its troops in Afghanistan to 400,000 from the present 115,000.

It said the Soviet Union had offered increased economic assistance to Pakistan so that it could put pressure on that country to change its policies but it said Pakistan was so much dependant on US aid that it would not change its policy.

Meanwhile, BBC reported that another important leader of the freedom fighters in Afghanistan, Shafiullah, was killed on Saturday when his headquarters in Koh-i-Sufaid was attacked by a ground-to-ground missile.

It said further that recently the Soviets had stepped up their pressure on Mujahideen.--BBC

CSO: 4600/421

PAKISTAN

ZIA INAUGURATES STADIUM BUILT WITH CHINESE HELP

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 85 p 11

[Article by Walter Fernandez]

[Excerpts]

ISLAMABAD, April 19: The inaugural ceremony of the Jinnah Stadium and the 21st National Athletics Championship was performed by President Gen Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq here today.

A large turnout, which included members of the diplomatic corp, high Government officials and school children gave the President a standing ovation soon after his arrival.

In an impressive two-hour ceremony the, President was first introduced to the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China, who helped enormously in seeing the gigantic Pakistan Sports complex reach fruition. After the national anthems of both the countries were played, President Zia went through the chores of unveiling the inauguration plaque.

President Zia was then introduced to officials engaged in the construction of the Jinnah Stadium and members of the organising committee of the 21st National Athletics championships.

President Zia thanked the People's Republic of China for their aid in building this magnificent stadium. He then compared it to the name it bears that of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. He said the Quaid was always likened to all good things likewise, the Jinnah Stadium was the finest stadium in the country today. President Zia went on to say, now that the infrastructure was there, he would like to see thousands of Jahangir Khans and Imran Khans produced at these facilities.

President Zia-ul-Haq then went on to declare the 21st National Athletics Championships open. As a sign of goodwill, pigeons and balloons were then released.

APP adds: In his brief remarks President Zia said the Stadium, built with the help of China, is another landmark in the close friendly relations between Pakistan and China.

President Zia said various big projects built in Pakistan with Chinese help are visible signs of the proverbial friendship that exists between Pakistan and the People's Republic of China. The Karakoram Highway is one such shining example and he was confident that the stadium also be considered a prized symbol of the close ties between the two countries.

President Zia stressed that sports institutions like educational institutions have special significance in national life. All educational institutions must encourage sports in a planned way.

The President also paid tribute to Pakistani engineers for their dedicated efforts in building the stadium.

Later signing the visitors' book the President remarked: "It has been matter of great honour for me to inaugurate the Jinnah Stadium. It is a landmark of Pak-China cooperation. It is a landmark of the efforts of the Pakistani engineers. I compliment them all. "With the coming into being of this modern stadium, I expect that Pakistani youth will be encouraged to excel in sports."

CSO: 4600/421

PAKISTAN

## MRD LEADERS MEET IN KARACHI

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Apr 85 pp 1, 8

[Text]

KARACHI, April 16: The MRD's Central Action Committee which began its deliberations here this afternoon is faced with a complex situation in formulating a set of its new strategy and tactics to meet the challenge of the developments arising out of its decision to boycott the elections, and induction of new Assemblies under the umbrella of far-reaching amendments in the 1973 Constitution.

Analysing the individual statements of different MRD leaders, keen political observers tend to discern at least two clear and apparently different-in-nature approaches to the situation.

The one is held by Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo who maintain that the 1973 Constitution has been practically abrogated in the wake of the amendments and that if the '73 Constitution is not restored in toto a new constitution on the basis of the 1940 Lahore Resolution be drafted by a newly elected constituent assembly.

Their main contention is that by the amendments the two basic features of the '73 Constitution, namely, its federal and parliamentary form, has been totally changed converting it into a unitary and presidential form.

The other viewpoint is held by leaders of some other parties, including Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Khwaja Khairuddin and the JUI leaders who think that emphasis on the restoration of the 1973

Constitution should continue to be laid and any demand for a new constitution at this stage might spark off new controversies.

Air Marshal (Retd.) Asghar Khan's position appears to be in between the two. While he has ridiculed the new Assemblies, calling them rubber-stamps and as powerless as the nominated Shooras, and hinted that the situation cannot be normalised unless these are scrapped and new polls are held on the basis of the unamended 1973 Constitution, he has not gone to the extent of demanding a new constitution on the basis of the 1940 Resolution.

This is in contrast to the statements by some MRD leaders who have a soft corner for the newly elected members of the Assemblies and who would not like to totally antagonise them unless they expose themselves in due course of time.

On the question of March 2 constitutional amendments, there appears to be complete unanimity among the MRD parties as all consider them a negation of the basic features of the 1973 Constitution and in essence a new document.

The question of tactics may also come under indepth debate and would be crucial to the strength or weakness of the MRD. The main issue will be what form of struggle should be adopted, agitational or merely propagandist and conciliatory or both as and when the situation demands.

So far the Movement has even failed to get all its heads of parties

released and leaders like Rasool Bakhsh Palejo, Mairaj Mohammad Khan, Fazil Rahu, Maulana Fazlur Rehman and Naseerullah Babar are still behind the bars.

Initially, according to the MRD Secretary General, Khwaja Khairuddin, the meeting would consider only one-point agenda, namely, the release of political prisoners, including the three heads of MRD parties. But it is obvious that discussion could not remain confined only to release and would cover all important relevant issues.

The meeting which started at Mr. Jatoi's residence at about 6 p.m. today is likely to discuss only the preliminaries to allow NDP President Khan Abdul Wali Khan and Begum Wali Khan to participate in the deliberations. They are scheduled to reach Karachi late at night.

The meeting presided over by Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo is being attended by Kaswar Gardezi and Wilayat Hussain Gardezi (PNP), Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan and Zainul Abideen (PDP), Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi and Rao Rashid (PPP), Asghar Khan, Asif Fasihuddin Vardak and Hamid Sarfraz (T.I.), Sardar Sherbaz Mazari and Yusuf Jhakrani (NDP), Khwaja Khairuddin, Malik Qasim and Mahmudul Huq Usmani (PML), Iqbal Haider and Pervez Saleh (QMA), Fatehyab Ali Khan and Rao Mohammad Suleman (MKP), Qari Sher Afzal and Hakim Jamaluddin (JUI), Hussain Bakhsh Narejo, Mohammad Kasim Mirjat (Awami Tehrik), and Abdur Rahim Mandukel (Pakhtoonkhwa NAP).

CSO: 4600/413

PAKISTAN

# MRD LEADERS CONDEMN 'POLICE HIGHHANDEDNESS'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Apr 85 pp 1, 8

[Text]

KARACHI, April 16: The MRD leaders have strongly condemned the police high-handedness and what they described as "callous" approach of the Sind administration in handling the situation yesterday following the traffic incident in which two college girls killed and several others injured.

As they came to attend a meeting at Mr. Jatoti's residence this afternoon, the MRD leaders one by one deplored yesterday's incident which sparked off trouble in other areas today necessitating calling out of troops in the affected localities, particularly in Liaquatabad.

Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan said this is a case of total breakdown of law and order and absence of discipline even among the law enforcing agencies.

Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, the current Convenor of the MRD, who visited the affected areas today found the situation "extremely bad". He said the way the young girls and boys were treated by the police was unbecoming.

Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan while condemning the incident demanded severe punishment for the careless drivers who played with the lives of the people. The whole situation, he said, was unfortunate particularly the cruel behaviour of the police and the administration.

Mr. Iqbal Haider of the Qaumi Mahaz-e-Azadi and Qari Sher Afzal of the JUI also strongly condemned the police behaviour.

CSO: 4600/413



PAKISTAN

PRIME MINISTER SEES NO NEED FOR TALKS WITH MRD

Karachi DAWN in English 22 Apr 85 p 1

[Text]

PESHAWAR, April 21: Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo has said the MRD is no forum to discuss the affairs of the country and government policies in the presence of elected assemblies. He was asked to comment on the MRD's "wait and see" decision in Karachi.

Mr Junejo, who was addressing a Press conference at Peshawar Airport before his departure for Islamabad after completing two days visit to the provincial capital, asserted that it was the prerogative of elected assemblies and not the MRD to debate national issues.

Replying to a question, Mr Junejo said the National Assembly could debate any issue including the Afghanistan policy and any other aspect of the country's foreign policy. "The National Assembly is a supreme body and its members are free to raise any issue on the floor of the House."

Asked whether the Federal Government was taking any steps to control the law and order situation in Karachi, the Prime Minister said the situation was being appropriately handled by the Sind Government.

Replying to a questioner, he said the number of political detainees was not much and they too would also be freed soon.

About the lifting of martial law, he said it was on everybody's lips, and pleaded that the date should be left to him. "Please do not make it more complicated" was his answer when he was asked to indicate a time limit.

"We have inherited many unpleasant things", Mr Junejo said referring to the refugee problem. Issues would be solved and settled as time passed, he stressed.

Asked whether he was satisfied with the powers vested in him after amendments to the Constitution, Mr Junejo said the amendments had been announced before he took over and added that so far he had not felt any practical functional difficulties.

Asked whether he would be able to maintain discipline in the National Assembly without forming a political party, he said time would tell how discipline was going to be maintained in the NA even without forming a political party.

Asked whether he would like to probe why the private sector remained dormant despite the package of incentives announced by the Government, the Prime Minister said he would be meeting the representatives of trade and industry to ascertain practical difficulties and said the Government wanted to encourage private investment in national economy. All their genuine problems would be removed, he gave an assurance.

Asked whether he proposed to ensure a free Press in the country, the Prime Minister said he was keeping close liaison with the Press and referred to his meeting with senior journalists as part of that endeavour. He assured of all official cooperation with the Press and in return asked for the cooperation of newspapers in view of "the critical phase the country is passing through."

Earlier, he expressed satisfaction on the law and order situation in the country and said: "There is nothing to worry about."

He also briefly stated his engagements during two days' stay at Peshawar and said discussions with the Governor, Chief Minister, Senators, MNA's MPAs and councillors had been generally informative and fruitful. He said these discussions were important "because we are now switching over to a new system."

Earlier talking to delegations of MPAs, Mr Junejo said the Federal Government would provide all the funds

committed in respect of the Sixth Plan to the provinces [word illegible] uplift project on time.

He said: "It is the sacred duty of the elected representatives to fulfil the aspirations of the people and remove their grievances."

The Prime Minister asked the provincial government to examine the question of granting extension in grace period in the interest-free loans and recommend it to the Federal Government.

The demands presented to the Prime Minister included observance of provincial quota in the Federal services, enhancement in the subsidy for sinking tubewells and setting up of Federal Government educational institution.

The members also suggested that the big corporations should be directed to open their schools. Later, Mr. Junejo returned to Rawalpindi.

CSO: 4600/421

PAKISTAN

WALI SPEAKS ON RIGHTS OF PROVINCES

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Apr 85 p. 8

[Article by Murtaza Malik]

[Text]

PESHAWAR, April 16: President of the defunct NDP, Abdul Wali Khan, has said that any future constitutional arrangement will have to provide full protection to the rights of the smaller provinces 'on their terms'.

In an interview prior to his departure for Karachi this evening to attend the MRD meeting, he said that if Punjab failed to show for-sightedness, the smaller provinces will have no alternative but to fight for their rights in unison. He estimated that the present course of events might make the question of provincial rights an issue between Punjab and the rest as the existing arrangement wherein the presidential powers had been enhanced enormously was "more dangerous than the One Unit". The recently formed Sind-Baluch-Pushtoon Front in London, he said, was the logical outcome of government policies. He knew that things would start moving in that direction one day and that was why 'we had been crying against these trends which we believed were not in the interests of the country'. Now the situation had reached a point where Ghulam

Mustafa Jatoi had not only "supported our point of view" but had in fact gone a step further by talking of the 1940 Resolution. The Constitution based on the consensus of the elected representatives of the people, he said, was dead and buried for all practical purposes when Martial Law was imposed and therefore there was no question of its being amended. The only authority to amend the Constitution was an assembly elected through free and fair elections on basis of adult franchise under the same Constitution.

Under the August 12 announcement, he recalled the President should have been elected by the Parliament but it was later reversed and he was elected in the referendum on the basis of a questionnaire which had nothing to do with his election and wherein "the turnout was poor". The regime itself, he said, had no confidence in the Parliament otherwise it would not have been deprived of its powers after the elections. The way things have been moving towards the so-called revival of the democratic order would ultimately prove that it had been an "exercise in futility". The position of the elected members, the NDP leader

said, could be accepted to the extent that people had voted for them but they had no powers and despite the fact that Mr. Junejo seemed to be a nice and clever gentleman 'the poor chap has no authority'. How could a powerless Prime Minister and Parliament, unable to protect their own rights, protect the rights of the people? The Parliament, he said, comprised individuals who had been elected because of money, personal influence and baradari and they had no political force behind them and as such they were least bothered about the people.

Wali Khan said that the Prime Minister's assertion that corruption was rampant in the country and the Finance Minister's statement that the economic situation was not in good shape was a vote of no-confidence in the regime. He said it was surprising that instead of being in session to debate the national issues, the Parliament had been adjourned after the vote of confidence for the appointed Prime Minister.

The NDP leader bitterly criticised the huge unproductive spendings and said that this expenditure was four to five times higher than that of united Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/413

PAKISTAN

## LEADER TALKS OF NEW STRUGGLE FOR RIGHTS OF PROVINCES

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 85 p 12

[Text]

Mr Abdul Hafeez Pirzada, general secretary of the newly-formed Sindhi, Baluchi and Pashtoon Front, has said a new struggle will be launched in Pakistan for the restoration of rights of minority provinces in the country.

Talking to BBC after a Press conference on Thursday in which the manifesto of the Front was announced he said: "We will not be a hurdle in the way of MRD's struggle for the restoration of democracy." In answer to a question, he clarified that MRD's struggle was limited only to the restoration of democracy, but "now we have entered a new era and a new effort will be made."

Mr Pirzada expressed the hope that the MRD meeting in Karachi would adopt a new line for the restoration of democratic rights of people.

He said: "We are not against the efforts of the MRD; on the contrary, we will help them. We will stop our struggle only after we achieve our goal."

Mr Pirzada said: "Our struggle will be a political one in which we will give sacrifices."

A new constitutional formula, which the Front was presenting, was meant to be operative within the present Pakistan and "this is

based on our rights which we are not ready to relinquish", he said.

Another leader of the Front, Mr Mumtaz Bhutto, while replying to questions, said Pakistan could be safeguarded by a confederation only.

He said he believed that now the time had come when small provinces should get their rights. By saying all this he was not violating any principles of his party, he added.

Mr Mumtaz Bhutto denied that the Front was working to break up Pakistan, and added that if it wanted to break up Pakistan it would have chosen other methods. This was the last effort to save Pakistan, he stressed.

He will be convener of the Front in Pakistan.

Sardar Ataullah Mengal, another leader of the Front, told the Press conference that he had been demanding an independent Baluchistan in the past but now, on the demand of leaders of the Front, he had joined it.

He said his demand for an independent Baluchistan was based on the assumption that without it rights of the Baluchs could not be safeguarded. But, he added, if a confederation was set up it could be a solution to problems of Baluchistan.—BBC

CSO: 4600/421

PAKISTAN

PAKHTOONKHWA NAP DEMANDS NEW ELECTIONS

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 85 p 2

[Text] Peshawar, April 19--The outlawed Pakhtoonkhwa NAP has demanded immediate lifting of martial law, holding of fresh elections for a constituent assembly to frame a new constitution, non-involvement of Pakistan in superpower politics, recognition of the Karmal government of Afghanistan and direct negotiations with that government to resolve the refugee problem and end of adhocism in economic policy.

The party has also opposed denationalisation of nationalised industries and other institutions and has called for restoration of political parties and political process in the country as well as removal of the restrictions on the press.

Elaborating the issues discussed at a meeting of the provincial executive of the party at Kohat Wednesday, the provincial chief Mohammad Afzal Khan told pressmen here on Thursday that the Constitution of 1973 was abrogated the day martial law was announced and added that the amendments, referendum and undemocratic elections were the last nails in its coffin.

Explaining his party's approach to the Afghan situation, Afzal Khan said it was the creation of US imperialists and "they are using Pakistan's armed forces for furtherance of their policy in this region." Making Pakistan a frontline state, as they called it, was fraught with dangers to the security of Pakistan, he warned.

The best way to solve the problem was to recognise the present Afghan government and enter into direct dialogue with it, he remarked.

CSO: 4600/418

PAKISTAN

## CALL TO DECLARE REFERENDUM, ELECTIONS NULL, VOID

Karachi DAWN in English 22 Apr 85 p 2

[Text]

MULTAN, April 21: Sahabzada Farooq Ali, a leader of the outlawed PPP and a former National Assembly Speaker, has said the MRD should not agree to hold talks with the Government unless the results of the referendum and non-party election are declared null and void.

In an interview here on Sunday morning, Sahabzada Farooq said the February election had not made any changes in the structure of Martial law Government. He said if the military rulers were really sincere in transferring power to people's genuine representatives, they should nullify results of the referendum and election and hold a dialogue with the MRD without any conditions.

The ex-Speaker insisted that his stand on the partyless poll was correct. His view was that politicians should have contested the election in their individual capacity and struggled for lifting of Martial Law from inside the assemblies.

He said the MRD's decision to boycott the election had prolonged the struggle for the achievement of people's basic rights.

He observed that struggle by the MRD was commendable, but added

that it had not been able to take root in the masses. He was of the view that besides holding meetings, the politicians should have met people individually to mobilise their opinion. But it was not done, at least in Punjab. That was why an MRD campaign in 1983 had been a failure, he added.

The Sahabzada agreed that since the PPP was the biggest component of the MRD, the latter's failure amounted to the failure of the PPP itself.

So far Punjab was concerned, he said, PPP leadership was in the hands of feudals who could never go against government.

Giving the example of Multan, the ex-Speaker said that in 1970, there were 140 offices of the PPP in the city alone. But now only a few of them were functioning.

Sahabzada Farooq said: "Unfortunately the PPP lacks discipline and faith. Leaders are inactive. They have not mobilised public opinion. I blame myself, too, in this regard."

Talking about political situation in the southern Punjab, comprising

Multan, Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan divisions, he said the area was directly under control of feudals and the majority of 80 per cent of the masses was with the PPP.

He supported the decision of PPP high command to expel those from the party who had participated in the election.

He admitted that in the southern Punjab, the PPP was facing an acute leadership crisis, but maintained that a revival of political process in the country would solve this problem.

The ex-Speaker avoided any clear reply over a demand for a separate province for 'Saraiki'-speaking people of southern Punjab. He said the issue could only be settled by a genuinely elected parliament.

He supported the MRD's move to reconsider the issue of provincial autonomy and said smaller provinces should be given more rights.

He opposed the idea of a confederation, but said restrictions imposed by the Martial Law Government had widened the gap between people of different provinces.

CSO: 4600/422

PAKISTAN

## ASGHAR KHAN SAYS STRUGGLE TO CONTINUE

Karachi DAWN in English 22 Apr 85 p 8

[Text]

QUETTA, April 21: Air Marshal (retd) Asghar Khan, chief of the defunct Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, has said that component parties of the MRD are determined to carry on a joint struggle for the restoration of democracy.

He was addressing provincial MRD leaders and workers soon after his arrival here from Karachi on a two-day visit to Baluchistan on Sunday afternoon.

Earlier on his arrival, he was greeted by a large number of people, including workers of his party and those belonging to other MRD components, at Quetta Airport from where he was driven to the city in a motorcade.

Mr. Asghar said that although MRD's component parties could have their own way of working, they stood firm as far as the objective was concerned.

He said the 1973 Constitution, though framed by representatives of people belonging to all federating units, could further be improved. He pledged that suitable steps would be taken with regard to distribution of powers between the Centre and the provinces when "we go to assemblies," and added that only four subjects — foreign affairs, defence, communications and currency — should remain with the Centre. He hoped that parties outside the MRD fold would also work towards that end. A commit-

tee, set up by the MRD to go through the issue of quantum of provincial autonomy, would submit its report within two months, he stated.

Mr. Asghar told his audience that assemblies which came into being as a result of recent election were absolutely incompetent to deal with socio-economic problems of people. He bitterly criticised both referendum and the election and said that as far as the referendum was concerned, it was just a "fraud." He described newly elected assemblies as illegal and powerless.

He said the country had suffered a lot on economic front. About 7,000 industrial units in Punjab alone had either been totally or partially closed down due to short-fall in production caused by load-shedding and consequently 75,000 workers had become idle, he pointed out.

The Tehrik chief said that during past eight years not a single dam was built for increasing capacity of power generation in the country. Had it been done there would not have been an energy crisis, he added.

He also referred to what he called exploitation of Islam and said it had been "confined to mosques and is not visible in hospitals, thanas and courts."

CSO: 4600/422

PAKISTAN

PPP REORGANIZATION EFFORTS DISCUSSED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 11 Apr 85

[Article by Ayaz Amir]

[Text]

AS PART of the changes made by the (defunct) Pakistan Peoples Party in its organisational set-up, Gen. (Retd.) Tikka Khan, the Additional Secretary-General, has been made Secretary-General in place of Farooq Leghari who resigned last year. The President of the Punjab Party, Sheikh Rafiq Ahmed, has been made member of the Central Executive Committee (CEC). He has been replaced by Jahangir Badar, till now the Punjab Information Secretary. Rao Rashid has also been made a member of the CEC. The Steering Committee set up to look after party affairs in the absence of the Chairman and the Acting Chairman has been disbanded.

The majority of CEC members from the Punjab are loyal party apparatchik who have been to jail more than once. Barring Farooq Leghari, most of them are middle class people which is a good thing, although it must also be said that people like Meraj Khalid have been to jail for no fault of theirs. The members from Sind on the other hand are mostly from the landowning class. But regardless of who has been included or dropped, what should be noted is the manner of this reorganisation.

'Under a directive'

Gen. Tikka Khan announced the changes at a Press conference at his Satellite Town residence "under a directive received from London". If this is the PPP's manner of conducting business, it becomes hard to make a distinction between the party's directives and the Martial Law regulations of the present Government. It is not enough to say that the party's decisions are arrived at after a process of internal consultations because Gen. Ziaul Haq says much the same thing.

This argument can be stretched further. If a military regime becomes the target of criticism because it is accountable to no one, uncharitable critics can say the same about the PPP leadership. If power flows from the top to bottom in a Martial Law regime, is not the same true of the PPP? There is no tradition of internal debate or discussion within the party. The result may be a surface conformity, but it is purchased at the price of internal weakness and dissension. It is not surprising that at every tehsil and district headquarter, the party has fallen prey to internal squabbles.



### Self-defeating

This state of affairs is self-defeating. Even its critics admit that the PPP is the largest political party in the country and has been in the forefront of the struggle against the military regime. Its workers and leaders have undergone untold sufferings. But despite these sacrifices, the party seems to be moving in circles because it has been unable to come anywhere near a mass struggle against the military Government.

Part of the problem surely is inadequate organisation. Issuing directives is no way to run a party. Issues must be discussed and debated before taking any decision. Even Lenin, when his leadership was unchallenged, found it necessary to consult the Bolshevik Party's Central Committee. Any political party worth the name holds periodic congresses to evaluate its successes and failures. It is hard to remember when the PPP held a similar congress. Nothing could be more traumatic than the execution of Mr. Bhutto. Yet even after that event, the PPP either did not, or could not, conduct an exercise into how it all happened.

### A disservice

Such an attitude is a disservice to the people the majority of whom still respond emotionally to the PPP. It is also a disservice to the

memory of Mr. Bhutto who, when all is said and done, was primarily a man of action. The PPP founded by him was more than sufficient unto its purpose. But times have changed and military rule has become a way of life in Pakistan. Changing this state of affairs is not an easy undertaking; If the PPP is at all serious about this undertaking, it too must respond to change.

If it is a party of the masses, its programmes must appeal to the masses which in the final analysis means that the veil of apology hanging around its socialist programme must be rent asunder. In this respect it is not enough to say that the party's objective is to continue Mr. Bhutto's mission, because this is as mystical a formulation as Gen. Zia's insistence on Islamisation. What exactly does Islamisation mean and what exactly was Mr. Bhutto's mission? There must be a greater emphasis on specifics and details.

In the eighteen years of its existence, the PPP has not held elections even once. Its leading office-bearers are at their posts for longer periods than those provincial governors who are on extension. If the party wishes to shake off the policy that has rendered it immobile, it must renew itself and release its locked-up energies. For that elections are necessary. The 'high command' is wrong if it thinks that party elections

would open a Pandora's box of problems. All that elections are likely to do is to stir a fresh wind that will blow away the old cobwebs and bring forward tried and tested people. The party will emerge stronger and the hands of the high command will be strengthened immeasurably.

### Central leadership

In this regard it needs to be said that the position of the central leadership is beyond all doubt. In fact, it enjoys greater authority than it realises. The party barons owe their positions to the high command and not the other way round. That being the case, there should be no reluctance to see a cultural revolution within the party. The old guard has outlived its utility and should be retired on honourable pensions. Those with no stomach for an upheaval at home should not expect an upheaval anywhere else.

### Hard questions

These are hard questions to put to the PPP, but if the party seriously thinks it is driven by a historic purpose, there should be no reason to feel hurt at having to answer them.

CSO: 4600/412

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY SEES EFFORTS AT ESTABLISHING DEMOCRACY HALF-HEARTED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 Apr 85 Magazine p 1

[Article by Prof S. Farooq Hassan]

[Text]

In a recent broadcast to the nation, President Zia proclaimed that springtime for democracy had arrived in Pakistan. Obviously, he was referring to the establishment of newly created democratic institutions by his regime. I suppose he particularly wanted to stress that just as spring causes vegetation to bloom, so the institutions of representative government he had unveiled would cause democracy to take root and flourish in this country.

Whether the democracy we have now attains its full bloom, only time can tell. For the last thirty years, nearly every head of state has made similar promises. How far these promises have been realized we all know. But one thing is clear. Since the press, intelligentsia, legal community and genuine public leaders had little or nothing to do with the scheme of things we are expected to be governed by, in theory the chances of its being successful cannot be termed bright. If despite this phenomenon we do not fail, then we can thank God for it.

Long ago when King Henry VIII tried the venerable Sir Thomas Moore, the King's lawyers, or those he could find, were helpless against the brilliance of Moore and the host of luminaries who had come to defend him. When first the attempt was adjudged a mistrial, the King is reported to have said: "By God! Every intelligent man in the kingdom is against me!"

This seems to sum up the basic malaise of our martial law regime. Indeed, research into doings and misdoings of totalitarian regimes in many Third World countries shows that all such governments suffer from the same malady. To begin with, they are imbued with

the conviction of their own infallibility, their own indispensability, to their nation and their feeling that if they take the public or the intelligentsia into confidence, it will be a sign of weakness. And weakness, they think, they must never show.

As a consequence of this attitude, every authoritarian government, despite its outward martial strength, is philosophically feeble. It realizes that it has to overcome its lack of outstanding brainpower overdoing the obvious, such as enacting laws which appear to be awesome, establishing tribunals which are a deterrent in themselves, and constantly displaying pomp and show. But in reality, such a government has considerable difficulty. Indeed, perhaps more than even a difficulty it is a misfortune that for the creation of its decision it has to rely on average or below average bureaucrats or moribund retired officers from the army, the civil service, or even from the judiciary.

In the fulfilment of the theory that the government should appear very effective, authoritarian regimes almost invariably drastically restrict access to courts and curtail the freedom of the press. The combined effect of its mediocre manpower and restrictions on the courts and press is that all accepted channels of correcting erroneous decisions are non-existent. As a result, despite its might, a military government usually ends up ill-equipped to make meaningful headway.

Unfortunately, despite President Zia's call to Islamise our society, his eight-year regime so far fully exhibits the aforementioned traits of poor decision making, particularly in the fields of law, constitutionalism, education and what is officially called "information". In the field of foreign policy, unfortunately, by and large we have apparently no policy at all. The Russian invasion of Afghanistan led us unwittingly into a rut from which we have not found a way out of. The American tilt towards us has nothing to do with President as such. Indeed, in April 1979, we found ourselves under President Zia deprived of US aid, military or economic, except for a trifle.

The greatest tragedy is that Pakistan is not like many African nations with no educated manpower. We have quite a bit, unfortunately, there is no respect for it. No one listens to the educated, and what is more damaging, ill-educated bureaucrats are made their overlords. In all the fields of governmental activity mentioned

above, President Zia has had to run the show with help which in other nations perhaps might be considered competent for, running a departmental store.

The ethos of the above analysis, unfortunately, has crept into the RCO (Revival of Constitutional Order, 1985), the broad framework of which was announced after the elections thereby allowing an additional argument for those who disapprove that has been done to the Constitution of 1973. They can now contend that the amendments have no effect on the post-assembly era since no retroactive restrictions can be placed on a "sovereign" body. The RCO gives overriding appointing powers to the president while allowing the day-to-day running of the country to remain in the hands of a prime minister. The courts now appear to have a jurisdiction which more resembles the position of a colonial judiciary than that of a sovereign state. In fact, our superior courts are now more helpless than they have been since Pakistan was created. Basic human rights remain suspended, as indeed, they have been for the last eight years, and several structural changes have been made in the 1973 Constitution, which show that we have now been given a "self-rule" kind of status by our martial law rulers.

This is indeed the story of our emerging democracy. The new prime minister carries a burden the like of which no other premier of ours has had to carry before. Having led no party when was

brought to diffice he has three very important tasks in front him, if democracy is to return. First, despite owing his appointment to the martial law regime, he must urgently seek its end. Second, although the assembly he leads has no faction of a permanent character, he must quickly establish not only his own authority but that of the assembly as the sovereign repository of all powers. One of his first task is to examine amendments imposed upon a sovereign body by an ostensibly outgoing government in light of public criticism of these changes. Third, immediate steps must be taken to restore fundamental rights and the channels of access to the courts. There can be no democracy or Islam if these three matters are not attended to immediately.

What we have now is a sad story of human bondage and yet a promise of springtime for a democracy. I have a simple suggestion for the new prime minister. To test whether those who installed him really have transferred power to him and his government, he should ask for the three things outlined above. Should they be forthcoming, we can breathe a sigh of relief. We can then see how successfully we can function with this new form of government. Our past experiences are not encouraging, and thus a great deal of application is necessary. On the other hand, if there is resistance to the above suggestions then we know what has happened. The future historian will record that the RCO, was no different from the PCO.

PAKISTAN

POLITICAL CRISIS SAID BREWING IN AZAD KASHMIR

Karachi DAWN in English 17 Apr 85 p 6

[Article by A.A. Salaria]

[Text]

MUZAFFARABAD, April 16: While the filing of nomination papers for A.K. Assembly seats and their scrutiny is under way, a political crisis is fast developing in Azad Jammu and Kashmir with most of the political parties and groups announcing their boycott of the coming elections.

The promulgation of two fresh ordinances by the government, amending the Political Parties Ordinance 1984 and Assembly Elections Ordinance 1970, on the eve of elections, has shocked and dismayed political circles here.

Under these new ordinances, the Chief Election Commissioner is empowered to cancel the registration of a political party getting less than 12.5 per cent of the aggregate of the valid votes and less than 5 per cent of the aggregate of valid votes cast in each district. The election of candidates of such a political party will also be declared null and void.

Moreover, the office-bearers of unregistered and banned political parties have been declared ineligible for contesting elections.

These amendments have been rejected outright by 10 out of the 13 parties which were allowed to contest elections. It is virtually impossible for small regional parties to secure five per cent of the valid votes in all six election units — four in the four districts of Azad Kashmir and two in Pakistan, one each for refugees from Kashmir valley and

refugees from Jammu province.

As such, besides PP which already stands disqualified, most of the smaller parties including Jamiat Ulema, Islami Jamhoori Party and J.K. have announced boycott of the elections. A few others have been dissolved, wound up their offices and joined major parties.

As a consequence of these ordinances, there are three major parties left in the field. The foremost is the all J and K Muslim Conference which stands to gain most from these amendments. The other two major political parties, which claim to have considerable following in all six units, are J and K Liberation League and Tehrik Amal party, both major components of the six-party J and K National Alliance.

There is expected to be a hot contest and a neck and neck race among these parties when the poll materialised.

A fourth party, the Azad Muslim Conference, has not yet decided its course of action.

Excepting the AJK Muslim Conference, leaders of all other political parties have condemned the new amendments, which they consider "belated" and an "afterthought" to state-manage the elections.

The AKPP and several other parties have threatened direct action to block the poll if these ordinances are not withdrawn.

CSO: 4600/417

PAKISTAN

BALUCH LEADER CRITICIZES 'NEW POLITICAL SETUP'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Apr 85 p 8

[Text]

KARACHI, April 16. Baluch radical leader, Sher Mohammad Marri has strongly criticised the inclusion of Jam Ghulam Qadir and some other Ministers in the Baluchistan Cabinet. He alleged that these people were responsible for the massacre of the Baluch masses during the 70s.

In an exclusive interview with 'The Muslim' today he said the MRD and some other leaders are raising a hue and cry for the restoration of the 1973 Constitution but they conveniently forget that it was during the enforcement of the same Constitution that untold atrocities were committed against the people of Baluchistan, particularly against the Marri tribe.

He alleged that hundreds of Marri tribesmen were now fleeing the country in fear as the same people had returned to power.

According to him the MRD is not raising the main issues confronting the people of Pakistan. Instead it is merely harping on the '73 Constitution to which Baluchistan's elected representatives were not "a party".

Mr. Sher Mohammad alias Gen Sherroff is known as one of the main leaders behind the guerilla struggle launched by the young radical Baluchis against the military operation during the PPP regime aimed at achieving equal

rights for the smaller nationalities living in Pakistan. He is currently staying at a small hotel in Karachi and undergoing medical checkup for his heart and liver ailments. Restrictions on him were recently relaxed by the Baluchistan Government and he was allowed to leave Quetta.

Replying to a question he said he did not see any resumption of a genuine 'democratic process' as in his opinion Martial Law remained supreme as before.

The people of Pakistan according to him, are fettered by 'three heavy chains', US imperialism, the chains of big nationality oppression, and the repressive and exploitative feudal and tribal order. All three he said, constitute an awful system of slavery 'under which one cannot think of any kind of democracy'.

He said what has happened in Baluchistan is not 'a development work' but strategic buildup in the name of "development".

He advised the authorities in Islamabad to stop playing with fire in the name of helping Afghan Muhajreen and said there is no alternative except that the Government should recognise the revolutionary government in Afghanistan and stop fighting "the imperialist war on the territory of Pakistan".

Mr. Sher Mohammad regretted that a huge number of retired officials had usurped the jobs which should have gone to the unemployed people of Baluchistan.

Speaking of the recent polls he said one could guess how fair and impartial they were from the fact that "the names of my family members including my own, were missing from the voters list".

He said "democracy is a vague word and it could only be meaningful if one knows the class character of those who clamour for democracy and of those who have been ruling the country for last 37 years regardless of the form of the government, military or civilian".

It was not surprising, he said that President Reagan has applauded the elections in Pakistan while he condemned the one held in Nicaragua.

Asked to comment on the formation of "Sindhi-Baluchi-Pakhtoon Front" in London he said he was not aware of its details, its objectives and manifesto but he knew one thing that the struggle for the oppressed nationalities of Pakistan cannot be fought in London's Hyde Park or from cosy flats.

CSO: 4600/413

PAKISTAN

JI TO TABLE SHARIAH BILL IN ASSEMBLY

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 85 p 2

[ Text] Lahore, April 19--The outlawed Jamaat-i-Islami will make decisions on political issues like accepting ministries and nomination of candidates for by-elections on the concluding day of its Central Majlise Shoora's meeting on Saturday.

On Friday it passed two resolutions in connection with enforcement of Shariah Bill and condemnation of "oppression" on the Muslims in Bulgaria.

As for the Shariah Bill, the Central Majlise Shoora of the Jamaat stated that it was necessary for giving constitutional and legal sanction to supremacy of Shariah in all walks of life. Urging that the Bill be tabled by the Government or by any member in the National Assembly the Jamaat has proposed certain outlines and said that it was the foremost obligation of the Government to ensure that no section of the society was exempted from the rule of Shariah.

The points proposed by the Jamaat envisage putting all the citizens of Pakistan under the discipline of Shariah, including the Heads of State and the Executive who would not be liable to issue any anti-Islam directive, withdrawal of the recent constitutional amendments and giving full autonomy to the Federal Shariah Court to decide all constitutional, financial and other matters independently, appointment of Ulema in all courts, decision in the personal matters of all the recognised Muslim sects according to their own jurisprudence, freedom of religious learnings and decision of personal matters of non-Muslims according to their own religious principles and that no officer, including the President, Prime Minister and minister should be exempted from accountability in accordance with justiceability under the Islamic law.

CSO: 4600/418

PAKISTAN

WALI KHAN DENOUNCES REGIME FOR UNFAIR TREATMENT OF NWFP

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 85 p 8

[Text] Karachi, April 19--Khan Abdul Wali Khan, President of the outlawed National Democratic Party (NDP), has said Pakistan's unity and solidarity depended solely on the elimination of all vestiges of exploitation, social, economic and political.

"Pakistan is not a monopoly 'jagir' of a handful of capitalist families; it is a homeland of all the citizens every one of whom must have his due," he declared. Mr Wali Khan, who administered oath to the newly-elected office bearers of Pakhtoon Students Federation (PSF) Sind branch, was addressing PSF's Sind Branch installation ceremony at the Jinnah Courts here on Friday afternoon.

The Pakhtoons, he recalled, had made tremendous sacrifices under the leadership of Khan Abdul Chaffar Khan and finally succeeded in turning the Britishers out of the Sub-continent. But, what did they get in turn? he asked. Even after 38 years the women had to trek miles of distance to fetch water from the wells and, in Islamabad, the palatial offices and homes had been built for government officials, while many poor people had to live in caves, he said.

"Such grave imbalances in the lives of the people will not be tolerated," Mr Wali Khan said while reminding them of his father, Khan Abdul Chaffar Khan's saying: "Whether we (citizens) have a part of whole of bread in the country, let us all share it equally."

He said in the big public sector establishments like the PIA, Ordnance Factories etc, poor employees had been sacked, while there were now 46 rich families, instead of the previous 22, who had fattened at the expense of national exchequer.

Mr Wali said the President had become "persona non grata" as a result of the Dec 19, 1984 referendum and, therefore, had "no moral, legal or constitutional right," to amend the 1973 Constitution.

In another context the Khan said the nation would not allow Pakistan to be made an arena of fight between the two superpowers. He referred to a top secret document prepared by the US National Security Council to the effect that Pakistan should serve as a "decoy" on which the Russian military hardware will be wasted.

Khan Wali Khan said the country was passing through very dangerous times and care must be taken that the Pakhtoons and Pakistanis were not made a scapegoat.

He urged that Pakistan should enter into direct talk immediately with the Karmal regime and asked why it should not be so? After all, if the Karmal regime is unrepresentative, so is the Pakistan Government, he pointed out.

People say that in elections rigging was not resorted to, Mr Wali Khan said, arguing what was the need for it when rigging had already been done with incarceration of all the opposition elements before the elections.

He said it was a matter of great regret that while in the NWFP there are the Tarbela and Warsak Dams as well as the Malakand and Dargai Power stations, the electric switch is located in Lahore. All power is generated in the NWFP, yet loadshedding there continues for seven, eight hours every day, he said.

The NDP leaders Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari, Mr Yusuf Khakrani and Haji Sher Khan as well as Aurangzeb Kansi, Central President of the PSF also spoke on the occasion calling for unity among the progressive elements for the elimination of unjust social order.

CSO: 4600/420



PAKISTAN

# LEADER SAYS DEMAND FOR CONFEDERATION DUE TO CHANGES IN CONSTITUTION

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 85 p 8

[Text] Karachi, April 19--Malik Mohammad Qasim, Secretary-General of the outlawed Pakistan Muslim League (Khairuddin group), has advised the Press that instead of condemning outrightly the current talk about a confederation and the formation of Sind-Baluchistan-NWFP Front, an analysis should be made to determine underlying causes.

Speaking at the Karachi Press Club's "Meet-the-Press" forum on Friday, he said the demand for a confederation was just an outcome of vital changes made "arbitrarily" in the 1973 Constitution whereby the Martial Law had been "legalised as a perpetual entity."

He scoffed at criticism levelled against Punjab which, he claimed, had not done anything contrary to the interests of smaller provinces. In fact, by showing poor turnout in the Dec 19 referendum, Punjab had aligned itself with other provinces in "rejecting" the proposition set by the Government. Similarly, in the general election, he added the turnout was not as heavy as claimed to be.

Mr Qasim said it went to the credit of the MRD leadership that while membership of the Assemblies was there for it "on a platter," it decided not to participate in the polls. "We cared for the coming generation, not for the election," he remarked, adding that consequently, the MRD had greater credibility today.

On the question of provincial autonomy, he said, the MRD was of the opinion that the Centre's powers should not be misused and that the federating units should have a sense of active participation in national affairs.

Commenting on the Karachi disturbances Malik Qasim said his heart went out to the aggrieved citizens, including the college girls who were insulted and maltreated by the police. He blamed the local administration and the law-enforcing agencies for handling the situation "uncharitably and senselessly."

CSO: 4600/420

PAKISTAN

PRIME MINISTER'S REMARKS ON WITHDRAWING MARTIAL LAW DISCUSSED

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 11 Apr 85 pp 5, 6

[Text]

IF PRIME MINISTER Junejo's well-publicized peregrination, following the ready approval of his appointment by the National Assembly, was meant to introduce him to the people through the media, the projection has been fairly extensive and quite successful. Many who had forgotten his name were enabled to recall his undistinguished stints as West Pakistan and Federal Minister. It would, however, have been better for all concerned if he had begun speechifying at public gatherings when he had something more tangible to offer his friendly audiences. His first tour could well have been delayed until he had selected or endorsed his colleagues and formulated some of his Government's policies, so that he could reveal to the people what plans had been prepared for the future and how they were going to be implemented. So far, apart from his refreshing initial assessment that a civilian government and Martial Law rule are not compatible, the Prime Minister has not even tried to outline a programme of his own in any field. Most of

his remarks have been no more than soft echoes of speeches made by spokesmen of the outgoing regime. His expression of a keen desire for rural uplift, the elimination of waterlogging and salinity, the weeding out of corrupt officials, or his appeals to the bureaucrats beseeching efficiency, do not really constitute a policy. Most of his statements have been vague and platitudinous; therefore, they have had no impact of any sort. Unless he is content to accept the image of being the old regime's new front-man, Muhammad Khan Junejo will certainly need to give greater attention to explaining what he wants to achieve, how and when.

A cautious approach to political and administrative tasks is perfectly understandable in present circumstances; but unless he can make the people feel that a change is in the offing, after giving him a little time to find his bearings they will begin to lose faith in the promised transition and may withhold their trust from the head of the new Government. Particularly when dealing with

major political issues, Prime Minister Junejo, fortified by the Assembly's unanimous vote of confidence, must be heard to speak with greater clarity and much more certainty. It is obviously not enough to say — in the very words often used by the CMLA-President — that the National Assembly will decide whether or not political parties should be revived and allowed to function. The people naturally want to know what the Prime Minister thinks on this subject. Does he want political parties to be resurrected? What will be his advice to his colleagues and Members of Parliament? Does he feel strongly on this issue, in that if his advice is spurned he will want to take the next logical step? To cite another example, merely saying that the door is open for a dialogue with politicians is no more than a meaningless gesture. If he is earnest about exploring the possibility of a political consensus, the Prime Minister must try to create an atmosphere that will make meaningful talks possible. The first obvious step in this direction is the release of all political prisoners and allowing political parties to function and consult each other on their future plans. The persisting anomaly of only politicians associated directly with Go-

vernment being permitted to hold public meetings must be removed if a serious attempt is to be made to reduce the polarisation between the Government and its co-operative allies, on the one side, and those who are referred to as politicians outside the legislatures — some sort of politicians emeritus.

The Prime Minister is also expected to make his views known on many other matters of national importance. First, does he want to retain all the amendments made recently by the CMLA-President in the 1973 Constitution? Or will he select some and ask the Parliament to repeal the rest? Will the powers of the higher courts be enhanced in order to re-establish the judiciary's independence? Will the harsher Press laws be abrogated and the Press in Pakistan made free at least to the extent of giving it the rights enjoyed by newspapers before October 1958? Will universities and other places of higher learning be allowed to breathe and work in greater freedom? Will the shackles on student organizations be struck off and their leaders persuaded to learn to function within the acknowledged bounds of student politics? The people are also keen

to know what aims and policies will be evolved by the new Government to deal with other urgent national problems. And let it be said here that it is unfair to ask the people that when they have waited for eight years why are they in such a great hurry now. The long wait does not breed patience; it provides ample justification for impatience. In any case, the people are entitled to be told the truth; they should hear facts, not be regaled with riddles. Among other relevant questions, will the new Government go along the present path of getting the country deeper into debt in order to maintain an artificial affluence, or will it seek to build a stronger foundation for agriculture and a firmer industrial base? Will a special effort be undertaken to make all our borders peaceful and reserved wholly for friendly commerce? Perhaps most important of all, the people will want to know how to interpret Prime Minister Junejo's statement that a civilian government and Martial Law cannot exist for long. In his political dictionary, how long is long? On these and other vital matters the Prime Minister should begin to take the people into his confidence, so that they can decide whether he deserves theirs.

PAKISTAN

MINISTER CAUTIONS AGAINST 'HASTY' LIFTING OF MARTIAL LAW

Karachi DAWN in English 17 Apr 85 p 2

[Text]

LAHORE, April 16: Mr. Iqbal Ahmed Khan, Federal Minister for Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, said on Monday that consolidation of the elected government was highly imperative before the end of Martial Law in order to avoid a fresh military rule.

Speaking as chief guest at a reception hosted by the citizens of Baghbanpura on Monday evening, he said that a phased lifting of Martial Law would be in the best national interest. Any hasty step at this juncture could plunge the nation into a fresh military rule, he said and added that in the past movement against Martial Law culminated in the re-imposition or hardening of Martial Law.

He maintained that some people who sitting outside the Assemblies, were clamouring for immediate lifting of Martial Law had always enjoyed benefits from the Martial Law governments but were frightened by the Islamisation programme of the elected government.

Mr. Iqbal Ahmed Khan said that

these people had boycotted the election only when they realised that the masses were not prepared to support their policies. He said that the people had rejected these elements and as such, they had no right to thrust their wishes on the elected Assemblies.

The Federal Minister told the large crowd at the reception that the present Government was determined to provide justice to all and sundry and to solve their socio-economic problems. He informed them that with the approval of President Zia the Law Ministry had been redesignated as the Justice Ministry. The idea behind the move, he said, was to provide 'Adl-o-Insaaf' alike to the rich as well as to the poor, and the downtrodden in accordance with the true Islamic spirit. He said the word 'law' had been changed because its western concept was that the 'law is blind.'

Chaudhry Shujaat Husain, MNA, also addressed the gathering.—APP.

CSO: 4600/417

PAKISTAN

ASSEMBLY MEMBER SUBMITS MOTION TO END MARTIAL LAW

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 85 p 9

[Text]

LAHORE, April 19: Haji Mohammad Saifullah Khan, a member of National Assembly from Rahimyar Khan, has submitted a privilege motion to the Secretariat of the National Assembly about lifting of martial law. He also met the Prime Minister on Thursday in this connection.

Addressing a news conference here on Friday Haji Saifullah said that he had made it clear to the Prime Minister that martial law was an infringement of the rights of the members of the National Assembly and it must be lifted as soon as possible. According to him he had impressed upon the premier that National Assembly should be given all the powers so that it was able to play an effective role in national affairs. He had also told the Prime Minister that the members of the National Assembly be made

more powerful than the executive officers at the regional level, he added.

As for the privilege motion, which the MNA has sought to be moved in the next session, it has stated that the Presidential Order of July 5, 1977, provided for ending of martial law immediately after completion of the elections of the Prime Minister, Speaker and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly. Since the election had been held Assemblies and the Senate constituted, ministries in the centre and provinces installed and the elections of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker completed, there was no justification for keeping the Presidential Order of July 5, 1977, in force any longer. The motion urged that the order be withdrawn and martial law be lifted with immediate effect.

CSO: 4600/420

PAKISTAN

JI DEMANDS WITHDRAWAL OF MARTIAL LAW

Karachi DAWN in English 22 Apr 85 p 4

[Text]

LAHORE, April 21: The outlawed Jamaat-i-Islami has demanded the withdrawal of Martial Law before the budget session of the National Assembly, removal of restrictions on political parties, the Press and student unions, release of all political prisoners and detenus or their trial by open courts, withdrawal of cases against students under Martial Law, restoration of the right of union making in all institutions and reinstatement of the employees dismissed on the charge of their involvement in union activities.

These demands have been made by the J. I Majlis-i-Shoorah which met here under the chairmanship of party chief, Mian Tufail Muhammad.

Through a resolution the Jamaat criticised the constitutional amendments and noted that the Revival of Constitution Order had beaten the 1973 Constitution out of shape and instead of striking a balance in the powers of Prime Minister and the President, had created an imbalance of another nature "which can make matters worse instead of improving them".

The Jamaat demanded a special session of the National Assembly to repeal all the amendments in the

Constitution, except the one relating to the Qadianis, and to strike a balance in the powers of the Premier and the President and the restoration of the 1973 Constitution, articles on the judiciary. It demanded full powers for parliament according to the 1973 Constitution.

The Jamaat defended its decision to participate in the referendum and the general elections and felt optimistic that Martial Law had entered its last phase.

Through another resolution the Jamaat condemned the threatening attitude of the Soviet Union towards Pakistan and warned that the border skirmishes might add to the Soviet problems which it had created for itself due to its policies about Afghanistan. The Jamaat warned the nation against what it called the fifth columnists in Pakistan who held that the Afghan struggle as a war between Soviet Union and the United States and observed that such elements wanted to cool down the struggle to pave way for Soviet expansionism at the expense of Islamic territories.

The Jamaat appealed to various Muslim and freedom loving countries to help the Afghan Mujahideen.

CSO: 4600/422

PAKISTAN

ASSEMBLY MEMBER TO MOVE RESOLUTION TO LIFT MARTIAL LAW

Karachi DAWN in English 22 Apr 85 p 2

[Excerpts]

MULTAN, April 21: MNA and former Federal Minister Mr Jawaid Hashmi has said that he will move a resolution for lifting of Martial Law in the country during the first session of the National Assembly.

Speaking at a reception in Mailsi near Multan, he said that after the people elected representatives there was no justification for continuation of Martial Law in Pakistan.

Mr Hashmi said the doors of education should be opened to all to get rid of the period of slavery. He expressed concern over the rising number of cases of corruption and abduction and claimed that they have increased much in the country in comparison to those registered previously.

He said achievement of full justice had been made impossible in the country. Continuing he said that 'our country is backward in

political affairs, as we have been backward in economic affairs'.

He said 'we have not yet achieved objectives for which Pakistan has been created.

He called upon the MNAs and MPAs to work for solution of people's problems and take interest in setting up of schools, colleges, hospitals and other welfare institutions in their respective areas.

He said the Jagirdars and capitalists in Pakistan had always created hindrances in way of opening of educational institutions in rural areas since their children can get education in Lahore and Multan institutions and hence they do not like the children of poor villagers to be educated so that they could not be appointed at high posts.

He said "the struggle would continue till the acceptance of demands.

CSO: 4600/422

PAKISTAN

ROLE OF EXPORT REBATES AS INCENTIVES TO GROWTH DISCUSSED

Karachi DAWN Business Supplement in English 20 Apr 85 pp I, IV

[Article by Syed Mahdi Mustafa]

[Text] The measures announced by the Federal Finance Minister on April 14 to revive some key sectors of the economy came as a surprise not in regard to their content but in regard to their timings.

These measures should normally have formed a part of the Federal Budget which is expected to be announced in about three to four weeks' time. The announcement at this point of time is perhaps by reference to the fact that the sagging trend of the economy had become too evident and urgent steps had to be introduced for its reversal.

Lower Growth

It now seems highly unlikely that the Planning Commission's earlier forecast of the GDP to grow by 9.9 percent aided by growth rates of 12.6 percent and 11.5 percent in the agricultural and industrial sector respectively, would be realised.

These forecasts were based on a mid-year assessment of the economy in early January but later developments suggest that the growth rates both in the agricultural and industrial sectors and, therefore, in the GDP would be significantly lower.

The condition of wheat crop is far from satisfactory and a shortfall of 10 to 15 percent is estimated in the target of 13.3 million tons. Some estimates place the shortfall to be even higher and suggest that the present crop may be at about the same level as last year's 10.9 million tonnes.

Continued dry spell and shortage of water in the canal irrigated areas may affect the production of other agricultural crops also, so that the overall growth rate in the agricultural sector would be much lower than forecast.

Shortage of energy supply has led to loadshedding and rated capacity utilisation in the industrial sector at the national level is estimated by the private sector at just about 60 to 65 percent, whereas in some



areas, particularly in Punjab, the proportion is as low as 50 percent. This suggests that the industrial growth anticipated to reach a level of 11.5 percent in the current fiscal year may not be forthcoming.

The greatest pressure being experienced by the economy is in the external sector. The export target for the current fiscal year was fixed at \$2,953 million, having been revised downwards twice from the original target of \$3,300 million. Earnings through exports amounted to \$2,668 million in 1983-84.

Far from achieving a growth target of almost 11 percent, earnings through exports, in dollar terms, in the first eight months of the current fiscal year have gone down by 15.31 percent over the corresponding period of the previous year.

To arrest this declining trend in the export sector, the scheme of compensatory rebates on exports has been revised by the Finance Minister. The scheme was introduced in 1978 but subsequently rebate entitlement on a number of items was revised downwards on the ground that after the delinking of the Pakistan rupee in 1982, the rupee had experienced an effective devaluation and, therefore, no further incentives were justified for the exporters.

Since the export sector has not revived to the extent hoped for, despite the effective devaluation of the Pakistan rupee, compensatory rebate is now being allowed on 10 additional items, for the first time in the overall basket of 22 items eligible for export rebate. In many a case compensatory rebates which had been revised downwards previously have not been revised upwards.

#### Burden

The government estimates that the total cost of these export compensatory rebates would be in the region of Rs 900 to Rs 1,000 million, the entire burden of which will be borne by the exchequer through the budgetary resources.

Considering the fact that budgetary resources are already under pressure, from where this additional amount would come? It seems highly likely that the Planning Commission's recommendations made at the time of launching of the Sixth Plan for introducing a system of "users charges," would now be given effect to in the next Federal Budget.

Another area of concern in the external sector is of workers' remittances which has assumed alarming proportions. Workers' remittances, after having risen continuously for about 10 years to reach a level of \$3,081 million in 1982-83, declined for the first time in absolute terms of to \$3,048 million in 1983-84.

In the first five months of the current fiscal year, for which firm figures are available, workers' remittances have gone down by 14 percent. Other estimates suggest that workers' remittances are declining at the rate of

2 percent per month in the current fiscal year over the corresponding period of the previous fiscal year. The most optimistic projections place workers' remittances at a level of only \$2,500 million in the current fiscal year.

#### Deficit

The declining trend in earnings through exports and workers' remittances clearly point out to the widening of the current account deficit. The Planning Commission had estimated that the current account deficit in the current fiscal year would be about \$1,200 million against \$1,028 million in 1983-84. Recent developments, however, suggest that it should not be, in any case, below the level of \$1,500 million in 1984-85. It could be more.

In order to attract more remittances, the Finance Minister has announced a number of concessions to Pakistani workers abroad. They include permission to open foreign exchange accounts in Pakistan without prior approval of the State Bank, maintaining these accounts up to three years from the date of their arrival, and waiving of the condition which required a remitter to specify the purpose of remittance if the amount exceeded Rs 10,000.

The banks have also been advised to encash drafts up to the value of \$1,000 without waiting for the respective advice. The banking sector has also been urged to introduce mobile banking at places where Pakistani workers are concentrated abroad so that they may remit their money without needing to go to a bank branch during banking hours only.

The Finance Minister has also introduced a number of measures to facilitate the development of steel based engineering goods industries.

To provide incentives to the local investors, it has been decided that Pakistan Steels would be priced 15 percent below the landed cost of imports in the case of billets while pig-iron and cold and hot rolled iron and steel sheets would be priced as much as 30 percent lower than the cost of their competitive imports.

These subsidies would entail an expenditure of Rs 1,500 million to Rs 2,000 million a year. It seems likely that this expenditure would be met through a revolving fund to be provided by the Federal Government. This again raises the question of availability of resources at the disposal of the Federal Government and its ability to meet the deficit of Pakistan Steel.

#### Financial Health

The financial health of Pakistan Steel is far from satisfactory. Its present deficit at Rs 11.05 billion, financed by borrowings, is proposed to be converted into Redeemable Participation Term Certificates or similar other instruments. The government's own investment, through budgetary resources of Rs 8.4 billion is to be converted into equity. It may be mentioned here that Pakistan Steel, in the current fiscal year, faces a debt servicing liability of Rs 1,100 million.

Although not much can be done to offset the effects of the adverse climatic conditions, the government obviously hopes that by providing incentives for exports and remittances it would be able to reverse the present declining trends in these two key sectors.

CSO: 4600/418

PAKISTAN

## COMMENTARY DISCUSSES MEASURES TO BOOST EXPORTS

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 85 p 7

[Text]

THE measures announced the other day by the Federal Finance Minister to boost the sagging exports and arrest the declining trends in remittances reflect an expected official response to the challenge of increasing pressure on the country's balance of payments position in recent months. Compensatory rebates, if used with discretion and with a sense of timing, usually yield the desired results. A glance at the list of items on which rebates have been offered for the first time and those whose rates have been enhanced indicates that the items for concessional treatment have been selected on merit. As for the timing, it can be conceded straight away that it is almost perfect as the dollar has started showing signs of weakening and in recent months the Pakistani rupee has appeared to hold its ground against our export-market currencies like the pound sterling, mark and yen as well as the Middle East currencies. In places where we have been losing ground for reasons of price, the rebate concession can be expected to help us recapture the markets involved. However, these rebates can hardly be of any help where market loss has resulted from such factors as poor quality of

goods, changing pattern of consumption, incomplete and irregular responses to queries from importers and delayed shipments.

Besides, these rebates do not touch our major exports, such as cotton and rice whose prices have become highly uncompetitive in the international market. This is a major factor in the big drop in our export earnings. Attempts to correct the situation have no doubt resulted in improving the volume of export of rice and cotton but is said to have failed to fetch even the costs. On the other hand, a number of items which have been allowed the rebate concessions have been known to have lost their markets on grounds of quality. In some cases, just because there was no arrangement for market research, exporters failed to adjust their products and packaging to the changing consumption patterns and the demand or taste of the importing countries. International marketing is a challenging proposition. Alertness and quick response are essential in this exercise. But in view of the faulty and inadequate communication system in the country, it has been observed that queries from importers sent by telex or conveyed

on telephone from overseas usually elicit delayed replies, sometimes the time-lag running into weeks. Above all, in Pakistan only very few fortunate exporters can give a firm date of shipment. It has been observed that even in some assured markets like Bangladesh, the one major complaint about Pakistani exporters is that they do not ship the ordered consignment on the agreed date. In recent years this problem has become more acute because the delay in getting shipping space has been compounded by delays in production because of power loadshedding. One hopes that the Government would take notice of all these factors, too, and do something about improving the situation. Offers of concessions like rebates, in the absence of other essential steps, might prove only a partial response to a tangled problem. In fact, these might tempt the unscrupulous to cheat the Government through 'paper exports'. Overinvoicing might be used not only to pocket unearned rebate, but also as a channel for bringing black money back into the country as white money at a very nominal charge, thus robbing the exchequer twice over.

The Government has amended the rules to facilitate the overseas worker to bring his savings in dollar and help him send his money through the banking channels. The step is designed to help arrest the declining trends in the inflow of remittances. In this connection, it is advisable at this juncture to accept the reality of a net

back-flow of overseas Pakistani construction workers in the coming years. These are the people who needed to send remittances regularly to their families, have very little savings and while returning back they would bring with them whatever they have been able to save and be enticed by the 'attraction' of keeping their savings in dollars outside the country. However, there is another class of Pakistanis which is working abroad and living there with families. This class neither needs to send monthly remittances to Pakistan, nor is it likely to return in the foreseeable future because it is needed there to maintain and operate the assets created in the Middle East following the oil boom. Since they are not coming back, these workers would not find the concession of being allowed to keep their savings in foreign exchange accounts for three years after their arrival in Pakistan of much interest to them. However, if they are allowed to invest in the savings schemes in the country with the proviso that they can, whenever they want, withdraw the amount in dollars, they might become interested in such a proposition. Their deposits could be treated as foreign loans which are returned in foreign exchange. There is no doubt, still a lot of scope to improve the situation concerning remittances. It is hoped that the measures announced recently would, by boosting somewhat our export earnings and the inflow of remittances, at least ease the pressure on the balance of payments position to some extent.

PAKISTAN

ECONOMY SAID RUNNING INTO 'ROUGH WATERS'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Apr 85 p 1

[Text]

LAHORE, April 15: Dr. Mubashir Hasan, former Federal Finance Minister, has said that the 'ship of Pakistan's economy is running into very rough waters and the situation is fast going from bad to worse'.

Addressing a Press conference this afternoon, he urged Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo to place the full facts about the deteriorating situation, which he has inherited, before the nation and elected representatives, so that they become aware of the dangerous condition of our national economy.

Dr. Mubashir Hasan said that there was a wide gap between the income and expenditure of the Government, foreign earnings were extremely low, and the dollar had shot up to Rs. 17.50. Banks had no money to lend and the systems of electricity, railways, roads and telecommunications had been virtually ruined. He said that in these circumstances more rebate on exports was a meaningless exercise. Posing a question, he said that rulers should be asked that if the country was short of foreign exchange, why were expensive cars, airconditioners, VCRs, and other unnecessary things being allowed to be imported.

Dr. Mubashir Hasan said that this situation had developed as a result of those agreements which the Government of Pakistan had signed after 1977 and which had put the economy of Pakistan entirely in the hands of the World Bank and other international monetary institutions. He said these organisations had forced Pakistan to keep the door for imports open and increase the rates of water, electricity, oil and gas. They had also laid down guidelines for investment in the public and private sectors. He disclosed that in 1982 Pakistan signed an agreement on 'structural adjustment loan' and on this agreement the then Finance Minister wrote a note consisting of 21 pages in which he gave an assurance to act according to the instructions of the loan-giving agencies.

Former Finance Minister claimed that Pakistan was not getting any foreign aid whatsoever, and in fact large-scale transfer of capital from the country was going on. He said that from the Consortium, Pakistan received net aid of only 207 million dollars in 1984-85.

He said that the main reason for the present load-shedding was not that there was little water in the rivers. The reality was that our railway system had gone totally out of order and there was a shortage of wagons to bring oil from Karachi to Multan.

CSQ: 4600/412

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY DISCUSSES FINANCE MINISTER'S 'REMEDIES' FOR ECONOMY

Karachi DAWN Business Supplement in English 20 Apr 85 p I

[Article by Babar Ayaz]

[Text] Policy statements made by Dr Mahbubul Haq, soon after taking over charge of the country's economy are being interpreted in financial and economic circles here as "a subtle way of telling the nation about the real state of the economy."

To some observers, Dr Haq's Press conference brought back old memories. "Though more discreetly, the new Finance Minister is talking the sort of language which the government used after taking over the economic management in 1977," a banker recalled.

Observers feel that there was nothing to be excited about in such statements relating to the economy. Promises, they say, have been a common practice repeated by successive governments.

The Finance Minister's April 16 statement did bring cheer to business circles and some businessmen who met him recently were hopeful about words changing into deeds. The source of their optimism appears to be the assurances given across the table.

Unfulfilled Promises

At a meeting recently which was attended by the FPCCI Taxation Committee chairman and presidents of all the leading chambers of the country, old demands were raised again. Private sector representatives, sources said, recounted various unfulfilled promises of the government and recalled that Dr Haq had himself said last year that the existing corporate tax rates were high.

They are also believed to have reiterated their demands regarding deregulation, doing away with double taxation on dividend, denationalisation and reduction in personal taxes.

According to these sources the new finance minister apprised them of the position of the treasury. "We were told that while the bill for the import

of wheat had to be footed, the revenue collection of the government had declined this year from both import duty and income tax," one source disclosed.

Some of the private sector representatives suggested that the government should allow investment of black money in new industries without taxing it.

#### Investing Black Money

Business circles in Karachi are reading Dr Haq's statement in the light of what was said at this meeting. But some sceptics appear to stick to the opinion that some concessions here and there could be allowed to the private sector in the forthcoming budget at somebody else's expense.

More concerned appear to be the people in the fixed income group. The declaration: "We shall not hesitate to take tough decisions, since decisions now postponed will only make the choices still tougher for the future generation" is being interpreted by them as a note of warning.

"There can be no development without tears, Dr Haq says. This probably means tears for the poor and development for the rich," said a labour leader. In this context he referred to "all the talk about privatisation which is being done on the demand of businessmen, while the soul of production--the workers--are not even asked about their feelings on this issue," he lamented.

"We know," a leading industrialist said, "that people in this country are not likely to welcome the growth of industrial empires which sizeable investments create. Moreover, despite the assurance by the government, we have to wait for the situation to stabilise."

How Dr Haq proposes to go about his economic agenda in the wake of many limitations he has himself identified, remains a main issue for discussion in the industrial sector.

"He wants to allocate more for development while at the same time keeping inflation down and borrowing less. This seems to be an attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable," an economist pointed out.

#### Only Option

Since the pruning of defence expenditure is not on the agenda and since of the tapping of the present sources of revenue have already been optimised, there is only one option left--deficit financing--which has already touched the Rs 12 billion mark.

"A heavier dose of deficit finance, when the country's foreign exchange reserves are under increasing pressure would exacerbate inflation no matter how hard we try to control it," the economist maintained.



There is appreciation for Dr Haq's endeavour to give a shot in the arms to exports and bolster the remittances. "The fact that these measures have been announced before the budget is indicative of the urgency that he attaches to the situation," a banker pointed out.

But a segment of the trade expressed reservations on the question of how far rebates would stimulate exports.

One option open to Dr Haq, one economist said, is to tax agricultural income and go for drastic land reforms as he had suggested in 1979 when he was serving the World Bank."

"But this is really a non-option in the present context," he hastily corrected himself.

CSO: 4600/418

PAKISTAN

# COMMENTARY DISCUSSES 'CRISIS' IN BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Apr 85 p 4

[Text]

IF despite the depreciation in the value of the rupee by 61 per cent in relation to the U.S. dollar, and at various other levels in relation to certain major currencies, Pakistan's exports are falling by 12 per cent this year, the export crisis is, indeed, serious. If simultaneously the imports are going up by 12 per cent, the deficit in the balance of payments is bound to be staggering. The trade deficit of Rs. 45 billion anticipated this year is really very large, compared even to the record deficit of Rs. 35.39 billion last year. In the past the large trade deficits were covered by the rising home remittances, but now the remittances are falling, and currently the average fall is 14 per cent. As all this threatens to wipe out the sagging foreign exchange reserve of the country in a period in which it may have to arrange for sizeable wheat imports, urgent steps are essential to stem the rot.

The export crisis arose because of the recession in world trade, rising tariff walls in many Western countries, and because some states devalued their currencies far more than Pakistan has done. Hence the exchange rate of the Austrian, French, Italian and Chinese currencies are marginally higher than they were in January, 1982, when the rupee was delinked from the dollar and sent floating down. The Government has, therefore, been forced to expand the export rebate scheme and increase the rebates for 22 varieties of items, and bring ten items for the first time under this scheme since it came into being in 1978. These items range from flower and fresh fruits, poultry and canned fruits to a variety of manufactured items. All this may cost a total subsidy of Rs. 90 to Rs. 100 crore, but Dr. Mahbubul Haq, who announced the measures, hopes to make up for the budgetary loss by earning more from the multiple process generat-

ed by the increased exports. We hope that his expectations materialise. Otherwise while imported inflation increases because of the fall in the value of the rupee, prices of indigenous items will rise because of higher exports and the people will have to pay larger revenues to wipe out the deficit.

It is appropriate that the export incentives have been accompanied by concessions for increasing the home remittances. Enabling the overseas Pakistanis returning home to open and maintain foreign exchange accounts in Pakistani banks for three years instead of only six months as now, cashing drafts upto Rs. 15,000 on presentation without waiting for advice, and permitting the receipt of remittances far beyond Rs. 10,000 at a time without any questions asked as to their purpose can be productive incentives. If the efficiency of the banks at the Pakistan end as well as overseas increases, more funds can certainly be mobilised. Failure or the exasperatingly slow method of operation of the banks had spurred the remitters to utilise non-official channels to send their money home.

It is not enough if the Government comes up with monetary and other measures to arrest the sinking foreign exchange reserves of the country and reduce the staggering balance of payments deficit. These measures have to be implemented by the officers with the earnestness with which they have been introduced. It is imperative, too, to eliminate the non-essential imports to keep down the ballooning import bill. And the business community has to cooperate fully with the national efforts instead of failing to match incentives with fair returns as in the past and asking for more all the time.

CSO: 4600/417

PAKISTAN

PROVEN OIL, GAS RESERVES SAID UNUSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Apr 85 pp 1, 8

[Article by Salim Bokhari]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, April 16: While the energy crisis is deepening day by day, proven reserves of oil and gas lie unutilised. This is as lamentable as it is intriguing because the oil import bill could be reduced drastically by augmenting domestic production of gas and oil with a little serious effort and investment.

Delay in the exploitation of the Dhodhak and Dakni oilfield and the leisurely pace of progress in the Pirkoh gasfield is a matter of concern, mingled with misgivings. Prima facie, the major beneficiary of this situation appears to be the powerful lobby pressing for continuing imports of crude oil and other related deficit products.

The situation is not new. It was reviewed in 1981-82 when drastic changes were made in the organisational, including ministerial, setup following the scandalous failure of drilling results at Kazian, where refining equipment was air-flown for processing oil from wells which produced nothing but water and air. Therefore, exploration and drilling work was reorganised and the management of OGDC affairs entrusted to professionals which helped to restore the confidence of loan giving agencies such as the World Bank and CIDA, who had threatened and in fact stopped advancing funds to OGDC.

A new element has now been added to the situation. Powerful interests are stated to have been attracted to it from another angle,--the rising hope of finding substantial reserves resulting from the concerted efforts put in during the past three years. These efforts have

produced good results by discovering a number of oil and gas fields such as Dakni, Tando Alam etc.

DAKNI: In this oil and gas field each well is likely to give 600 barrels of crude and 8 million cubic feet of gas per day in addition to substantial quantities of sulphur. This field was discovered in Aug.'83. Three wells have been drilled but none is in production. The decision is to tackle these wells locally by assembling and manufacturing equipment at HMC Taxila--a very correct decision with wrong timing. First, a few wells could be developed avoiding all causes of delay to augment the depleting energy resources. The field is big enough to provide every opportunity for HMC and OGDC to experiment a joint venture. Dakni can easily augment gas supplies in the critical times of today. Similarly, Nandipur gas field discovered in Aug.'84 and Panjpir in '85 do not seem to have attracted sufficient interest.

TANDO ALAM in Sind was considered to be a prize field currently producing 3000 barrels per day from two wells. This field, along with the adjoining ones, is rated very high and development of wells on war footing, it is considered capable of achieving 50000 to 60000 barrels per day in 18 months to two years time. If the field has not been irrevocably damaged due to alleged rushed production, necessitated by electioneering requirements of the past few months, the yield from this field will more than match the Khas-kheli and Leghari finds. If the production from last two mentioned fields is also taken into consideration the country may look forward to self-sufficiency in oil production.

**DHODHAK:** The story of Dhodhak is more complicated than meets the eye. The field was discovered in 1977. Its proven reserves are determined at 35 million barrels of recoverable condensate and about one trillion cubic feet gas. Four wells have been drilled but not developed.

In 1982 inquiries were floated inviting reputed international firms to put in their bids to develop the field. American, French and Russian firms responded. After evaluating the bids, decision was taken to award the contract to the French firm but as Rao Farman Ali left the Ministry no orders could be issued. Dr. Asad who succeeded him, in his capacity as Minister of State, preferred to re-examine the whole case and decided to appoint a consultant to take a fresh look.

Teneco, an American firm which had participated in the bid but later withdrew for its own reasons, is again showing keen interest in the project. All this has cost two years, with no progress recorded in the direction of bringing the goal of development any closer.

Yet another intriguing factor in this regard is the case of 'engineering study.' It was considered necessary to carry out this study for Dhodhak, a study which is normally done by those engaged in the development of the field. But it was considered expedient by the

OGDC and the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Resources to carry out engineering study of the reservoir independently of other considerations as it would leave the option open for OGDC itself to develop this field. In case the contract was awarded to outsiders it could still be utilised for the purpose of counter-checking if they insisted on carrying out their own study. The World Bank was approached which provided the funds. Subsequently inquiries were issued to reputable firms experienced in this work and approval of World Bank was obtained, after evaluating the bids, to award the work to a French firm. In fact the agreement was drafted and agreed upon a long time ago, but after the exit of Rao Farman Ali, the Ministry has preferred to let the matter rest. Over two years have elapsed but the question of the engineering study has not moved beyond Square One.

**PIRKOH:** The potential of this field is substantial and in view of the energy crisis it was given top priority for development. According to the decision, the first phase of development was split in two parts. In the first, 40 million cubic feet was to be added to the existing gas supply system. Initially the project ran into snags but later, thanks to prompt remedial measures and hard work, the target was achieved by Feb, 1984. The second part—

to increase the capacity by an additional 32 million cubic feet—was to be completed by March 1985 but there seems to be no hurry to implement this. The second phase of this project, which is designed to increase the supply by another 140 million cubic feet is, in the circumstances, a far cry. Huge losses to industries in the Punjab and the entire northern region resulting from power shortages could be minimised if due attention is paid to this project.

**OFF SHORE:** It is gratifying that authorities have made some headway in the matter of off-shore drilling, although arrangements made now could have been completed much earlier. It now remains to be seen when the drilling starts.

The real picture today is far from dismal. In fact it marks a considerable improvement on the situation obtaining in 1980-81. A lot of work has been done during the intervening period and the tempo that has been built up must be maintained by rectifying the causes of delays experienced during the last year or so.

The present production figures speak of the good efforts made during the past three years and further increase could be effected with a little imagination and enterprise. The Ministry must look at the situation in its totality and seriously consider associating the private enterprise in this vital national task.

CSO: 4600/413

PAKISTAN

MINISTER SAYS PRIVATE BANKING MAY BE REINTRODUCED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Apr 85 pp 1, 8

[Article by Ashraf Hashmi]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, April 16: The Federal Government is seriously considering the reintroduction of private banking and conversion of the Telephone and Telegraph Department into an autonomous corporation. This was stated here by the Federal Minister for Finance and Planning, Dr. Mahbubul Haq.

Addressing a Press conference this morning, the Minister also announced a three-pronged development strategy designed "to unshackle the national economy from the tyranny of economic controls" and to bring about major acceleration in the momentum of the economy with beneficial results for all and not to enrich only the "controllers".

Disclosing that "a large agenda for deregulation" was under serious consideration of the policy makers the Minister said apart from private banking and the move for a T & T corporation, it included disinvestment of some selected industrial units, disinvestment of shares in public enterprises, privatisation of power distribution system, relaxation of multiplicity of price and import controls, freeing the system of industrial sanctions and reduction in the baffling array of administrative controls.

Firmly maintaining that the economic liberation was no less important than political liberation, he said the present elected government was committed to a policy of change. This change must liberate the creative energies of our people as well as safeguard our national interests. The private

sector, he said, must not spend all its energy on circumventing controls. "By deregulations, we hope to create an environment in which these energies can be redirected to innovation and entrepreneurship, leading to individual profits and social gains", he remarked.

The Minister also promised to activate the public sector which could only be done by devolution of financial and administrative powers to the Ministries in charge and decentralisation of decision making responsibilities.

Admitting that there was every reason to be concerned at the difficulties presently faced by the national economy, the Minister said that the Government had already taken some decisive actions to arrest the deterioration and further steps would soon follow in the coming weeks and in the budget.

He enumerated some of the "pressure points" which were attracting a great deal of attention. These he said, were unsatisfactory domestic and external finances, the inadequacy of grain reserves, the shortage of energy and the potential for inflation. The wheat crop may have been seriously damaged for the second year in succession, which may require the import of about two million tons of wheat in order to maintain comfortable reserves. Energy load shedding persists and may become more extensive in the next two months and some inflationary pressures may also build up. The country's external finances have suffered because of the extraordinary strength of the US dollar and the uncertainty and instability that has prevailed in the

foreign exchange markets. A decline in world cotton and rice prices on the one hand and the continued high prices of tea, edible oils and other imports on the other have reduced our net foreign exchange receipts from trade.

Workers remittances from abroad have showed down and are expected to be not more than 2,500 million dollars, with the result that the Government had to draw about 800 million dollars from our foreign exchange reserves during the first nine months of the current fiscal year.

This adverse external situation Dr. Haq said, has increased the import cost of certain essential items which the Government continued to provide to the consumers at old prices with the result that budgetary subsidies have already surpassed the levels provided in the budget. So has the rupee cost of debt servicing. All this has led to deficit financing of almost Rs.1200 crores upto late March, 1985, compared to the full year's ceiling planned around Rs. 580 crore.

The Minister, however, hoped that with the help of measures taken last week and other measures to be announced before and during the budget, there was good reason to believe that the economy would register a strong performance in 1984-85, with an expected growth rate of 8 to 9 per cent in the GDP. He said despite temporary weaknesses and difficulties, the state of our economy remains "robust" and "we can overcome the pressure points with determination and skill".

The Minister also mentioned the inequities and irrationalities of the present tax system and said these must be reformed. The reform in the tax system would be implemented in full consultation with the elected represen-

tatives of the people. Broadly, the strategy of reform will be to redress the existing imbalances by reducing inequitable tax burdens, by demanding that those sections of society which can pay more should do so, by simplifying the existing system wherever possible, and by designing a tax system in which evasion would neither be tempting nor possible.

He said a decisive increase in the development programme would take place in 1985-86. The priorities identified in the 6th Five Year Plan were still valid and enjoyed the support of the majority of the people. A major effort would be needed "to put the 6th Plan back on the track" as it had suffered shortfalls in the first two years of its implementation. Rural development, water-logging and salinity, alleviation of energy shortfalls, the provision of infrastructure, education, and development of less developed regions were some of the programmes which could not be allowed to languish.

He said the overall economic policies of the country were being reviewed and reshaped in the light of changed circumstances. A special session of the Cabinet on April 22 will review at length the current economic and financial situation and the development agenda for the next year.

Replying to a question, Dr. Haq said a number of measures were being considered to effectively implement the energy conservation programme. He did not rule out a total ban on the import of airconditioners and motor cars in this respect.

Concluding, he said, that the coming budget will be a time for frank stock-taking and resolution of some of the national dilemmas. We should not shrink from any

"tough decisions". "These decisions, if postponed, will only make the choice still tougher for the future generations.

APP ADDS Dr. Haq said the nation will have to take difficult decisions in the coming months. For too long now we have been postponing painful decisions in financing expenditures by neglecting the maintenance of roads, railways, canals, and other physical infrastructure, postponing needed expenditures on education, health and other social services, and in the last resort, borrowing from abroad and from the domestic banking system", he said.

He told a correspondent that the country's current outstanding foreign debt is 12 billion dollars, and that 14 per cent of exports are being spent in debt servicing.

He said when the World Bank's aid Consortium meets in Paris on May 6 and 7 to discuss aid allocations for 1985-86, Pakistan will ask for a lower level of assistance, compared to the past, and the nation will be asked to make a bigger domestic effort to raise finances.

He told a correspondent that there has been no success in implementing the nuclear power plant at Chashma, which was needed to overcome the energy shortage. "Pakistan is being penalised not for economic reasons but on political grounds, even though we are committed to peaceful uses of nuclear energy, and have agreed to put the plant under the inspection of the International Atomic Energy Agency".

Asked whether the economic programme which he is advocating might be resisted at the political level, the Minister said, in the long run, implementation of the programme will have only political benefits and help everyone.

CSO: 4600/413

PAKISTAN

FORMER MINISTER WARNS AGAINST PRIVATE BANKING

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 85 p 12

[Text]

LAHORE, April 19: Dr Mubashir Hasan, a former Federal Minister and Chairman of the Independent Planning Commission, has opined that if the private sector is permitted to open banks, the next elected Government would nationalise them.

He was commenting upon the statement of Finance Minister, Dr Mahbubul Haq, about the role of the private sector in banking while talking to newsmen on Friday morning.

Dr Hasan said although no political party had so far expressed its intention to carry out any further nationalisation, if the Finance Minister carried out his "threat", such banks would have to face nationalisation. He said if the Finance Minister had any complaints about the performance of the nationalised banks, then nobody except himself was to blame for that.

From section officers to Finance Secretary and the staff of the Banking Council as well as some officers of the State Bank of Pakistan had made the nationalised banks their "slaves", he remarked, adding that

in these circumstances when banks officers were left with no option except to carry out the "demands and pleasures" of "the high and mighty", the performance of nationalised banks was bound to be affected.

"Let the banks operate according to the letter and spirit of the laws and rules and there shall be no complaint about their performance", he observed.

Dr Hasan questioned the Finance Minister whether he had forgotten "the rampant corruption" in private banks before their nationalisation.

The eminent economist said if the Pakistan bankers, thrown out by the present government, could "make success of foreign banks the world over, they should be capable of successfully running banks in Pakistan". There was no dearth of banking talent in the country, he added.

Dr Hasan said the previous Government had made a mistake by not nationalising the foreign banks. At least two American banks had violated the "gentleman's agreement"

with the Government that the rate of increase of their business would not exceed that of Pakistani banks. It was on that condition that the foreign banks were exempted from nationalisation but on top of that the present Government had permitted opening of branches of many foreign banks which were now "indulging in unethical conduct, are guilty of malpractices on large scale and are openly violating the rules set by the State Bank".

According to him, the success of foreign banks "owed to unhealthy practices rather than efficiency". Citing the examples, he said they were flouting the rules set by the State Bank for import and export businesses and sales and purchases of Government bonds and certificates and thus they have set a record of their own in violating the rules". Regrettably some of the "malpractices" were being resorted to through the connivance of the State Bank officers and auditors, he said, adding that "for all practical purposes the foreign banks have forfeited their right to operate in Pakistan".

CSO: 4600/421



PAKISTAN

UNEMPLOYMENT IN SIND SAID GROWING

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Apr 85 p 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, April 15: A delegation of Berozgar Sindhi Naujwan Tanzeem (BASANT) will call upon the Prime Minister on the 19th of this month to apprise him of growing unemployment in Sind. This was disclosed by Saeed Ahmad Baluch, convener of the organisation, while talking to 'The Muslim' here.

He claimed that an objective survey of unemployed youth in the province had established that more than 40,000 qualified young persons are not finding any job to sustain themselves or their families.

Among them 5,800 are doctors, 4000 engineers, 3,500 agriculturalists, 12,000 graduate scientists while 18,000 are arts graduates. These figures, he said, had been collected by independent sources. He alleged that in the national corporations like Karachi Port Trust, Bin Qasim Port Authority, Pakistan International Airlines, Civil Aviation, Pakistan Steel Mills, WAPDA, Customs and Petroleum not more than one per cent of the employees are Sindhis. This, he said, was a sheer violation of the principles laid down in the Constitution regarding the provision of equal opportunities to all people of the country. He alleged that only 7 per cent jobs were given to Sindhis coming from the rural areas by the Public Service Commission in spite of the fact that 11 per cent quota was reserved for such people.

He also charged that authorities interviewing candidates for posts at Islamabad Hospital Complex were biased against Sindhis.

CSO: 4600/413

PAKISTAN

LABOR PROBLEMS SAID TO DEMAND SOLUTION

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 85 p 7

[Article by Sultan Ahmed]

[Text]

THE approach of the martial law regime to labour has been somewhat different from its approach to politicians, students and other power centres in the country. And that difference sprang not from any particular regard for labour as much as from fear of the political consequences of tangling with it.

The labour policy of the PPP Government has not been scrapped, while many of its radical legacies have been abandoned or modified substantially. Unlike student unions and political parties, labour unions have not been banned, except in places like PIA which is under the Ministry of Defence. And despite the mounting pressure from the ultra-right for doing away with May Day, as a symbol of the secular concept of the dignity of labour, and its international identity, that has not been done.

### Private sector

The private sector, which has been given a larger role and increasing importance, has been protesting that the Government has been following a dual labour policy. While it banned unions and strikes through Martial Law Regulation 52 in PIA and sacked thousands of employees outright,

they contend, they have not been conceded the right of hire and fire. Simultaneously in the Pakistan Ordnance Factories, instead of banning unions the Government has chosen to declare lock-out until the over 20,000 workers came round to the Government's point of view substantially.

The Government did earlier want to amend the old labour policy and held several tripartite conferences and committee meetings for the purpose. Cabinet sub-committees were also appointed to take the final decisions. And the former Labour Minister Ghulam Dastagir Khan claimed to have the expertise to handle labour in the light of how he managed the few employees of the cinema house and petrol pump he owned. All that came to nothing because of the irreconcilable differences between the employer and employee representatives. So Mr. Dastagir Khan began giving greater attention to sending more Pakistanis overseas and visiting them abroad as often as he could.

The labour problem has now three dimensions.

1 Increasing unemployment, particularly among the educated, and more so in Sind. This problem is being aggravated by the 80,000 persons entering the job market every year, and the rise in the number of overseas Pakistanis returning home, for which no statistics are available because of the official lapse.

2. Rising inflation at one end which is around 15 per cent or more is a reality, while the wages are low. Aggravating the problem is the rising expectations of the workers, fostered more by the official media like TV.

3. Low productivity of the workers which makes the low wages high in terms of unit cost.

Currently both employment and productivity have taken a heavy beating because of the massive energy crisis and frequent load-shedding which has resulted in the unemployment of 50,000 to 70,000 workers in Punjab alone. Production in the factories, which are not shut down is very low.

The employers think that many of their problems will be solved if they are given the right to hire and fire workers denied by the present labour policy. Fear of losing one's job will make one work harder and achieve higher productivity, they argue. They also want no outsiders as labour leaders, and reduction in the number of unions permitted in a factory.

While the Government is largely sympathetic to such demands, it does not want to risk provoking labour by implementing them.

For the same reason, denationalisation of many of the taken-over industrial units has not taken place, contrary to tentative official policy decisions from time to time. Labour in the public sector is opposed to privatisation of this sector. It fears a raw deal from private sector employers, beginning with massive retrenchment and reduction of the overall wages.

The new Production Minister Khaqan Abbasi says, following a meeting of the Economic committee of the Cabinet, that various industrial units would be denationalised according to a proper plan. He wants the production Ministry to be accountable not only to the Press but also to the public. How he intends to go about and cope with the expected stiff resistance from his labour remains to be seen.

Because of the inability of the Government to devise a consensus between the employers and employees the labour policy has not been changed; but it has been flagrantly violated. Labour courts too read the official signs on the wall and soften their bias towards labour.

CSO: 4600/420

## New deal

In place of the labour relations governed by the labour policy, there is now the obnoxious group system under which employers give contracts to some toughs to bring in the requiring number of workers and make them work according to agreed terms. Under the group system there are no unions and the workers are employed by these toughs rather than by the factories. Attempts to form unions or resist the contractors or employers often result in violence not only the workers and sometimes even against their family members. An amended labour policy is any day far better than a violated one, which give birth to monsters like the 'Group System'.

When it comes to productivity the employers blame the employees, while the employees accuse the employers of bad managerial practices, carrying too much of the profits home, under-reporting of production and profits, poor maintenance of machines, etc. Maybe the truth is in between.

But as Pakistan enters the highly competitive international export market more and more, and with more of manufactures, the cost of production has to be kept down and quality of the production up. This is possible only if productivity improves, particularly in the excessively competitive textile industry, where our exports are facing a host of problems. Hence bottlenecks to productivity deserve the most serious attention.

The new Labour Minister, Haji Hanif Tayyab, says the Government is very keen to solve the problems of the workers, whom he has described as the backbone of the country's economy. Simultaneously he has said the employers are basically good natured and willing to give the workers their due. He has simultaneously lamented that some elements look towards a foreign ideology for improving the lot of workers as they are ignorant of the teaching of Islam.

Being a pre-eminent social worker Haji Tayyab's approach to the labour problem appears to be more humanistic and charitable and based on goodwill for all heedless of the merits of the elements involved. But instead of blaming any adherence to a foreign ideology by any group of workers, he ought to look at the problem in

realistic and rational economic terms.

## Sick units

Until a few years ago the Government announced annual increase in wages along with increase in the salaries of its own employees. But, following the protest of the employers, this policy was given up a few years ago, and the employers were left to increase wages according to their profits. But not all are doing that in an economy, where too many industries are declaring themselves sick.

Meanwhile, inflation keeps going up, reducing the real wages of the workers. Dr. Mahbubul Haq's solution for the problem as he returned to Pakistan from the U.S. was indexing of wages to provide a "safety-net to the low income groups." That meant wages rose automatically with prices. But former Finance Minister Ghulam Ishaq Khan was bitterly opposed to indexing. But now Dr. Haq is the Finance Minister. Will he do now what he could not do earlier?

But indexing alone does not solve the problem. Not even senior Government officials accept personally that our consumer Price Index is accurate or reliable. But the Federal Statistical Bureau stands by that. However, a committee headed by Governor A.G.N. Kazi of the State Bank is now trying to make the index more reliable and less suspect. Meanwhile, too many trade unions are demanding that minimum wages be fixed at Rs. 25,000.

Fall in the value of the rupee in relation to the dollar by 61 per cent and higher import duties and sales tax are pushing up the price line at home. Higher wages hence become imperative to make both ends meet for workers.

Secondly, both employers and employees protest that the Government is the greater gainer by several levies on the industries like Education Tax, old age benefits etc. What the employers lose the workers do not gain, both protest.

So Haji Tayyab has his plate full of real problems and would take far more than a sense of charity to tackle them. He cannot brush aside basic issues simply because he has goodwill for employers and employees. In a difficult economic year he has to cope with some of the most difficult problems, and he has to be prepared for that.

PAKISTAN

SPECIAL FUND FOR NEEDY SET UP

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 85 p 9

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, April 19: A Special Qarz-i-Hasna Fund has been established with immediate effect to meet the emergent and obligatory expenditure of needy persons.

A decision in this respect was taken at a meeting of the Economic Coordination Committee of the Cabinet which met here yesterday under the chairmanship of Dr. Mahboob-ul-Haq, the Federal Minister for Finance, Planning and Economic Affairs.

To start with, an amount of Rs. 100 million has been allocated for the fund which will be contributed equally by the Government and the nationalised commercial banks.

The fund, for the present, will provide Qarz-i-Hasna for the minimum and unavoidable expenses of a simple marriage ceremony of a girl and for medical or surgical treatment of exceptional nature.

The scope of the fund will be expanded gradually.

All persons deserving of financial help and who are not Mustahaqeen-i-Zakat will be eligible to obtain Qarz-i-Hasna from the fund.

The scheme will be operated by public representatives. All the MNAs, MPAs and Senators throughout the country have been authorised to certify the eligibility of 25 cases each for Qarz-i-Hasna.—

The administration of the fund

has been entrusted to the Pakistan Banking Council which has been instructed to draw up and establish the procedure so that the scheme is implemented immediately. The secretariat services will be provided by the circle office of the designated bank.

The Qarz-i-Hasna will be disbursed through the nearest designated branch of the nationalised bank within a maximum period of one month reckoned from the date a case is received.

The special Qarz-i-Hasna fund established today will be in addition to a similar fund for educational purposes which is in operation through nationalised banks since last few years. This fund is already assisting the students who are unable to continue their studies due to financial difficulties. It covers post-intermediate and post-graduate studies within and outside Pakistan.

The establishment of special Qarz-i-Hasna Fund is in line with Government's irrevocable commitment towards creating a just Islamic society based on the principles of 'Adl' and 'Ihsan'.

No compulsory schedule for repayment has been prescribed. However, it would be moral obligation of every recipient of assistance from the fund to repay the amount as his or her circumstances improve.—APP PPI

CSO: 4600/420

PAKISTAN

NATIONALIZATION OF TRANSPORT URGED

Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 85 p 8

[Text] Karachi, April 19--The Women's Action Forum (WAF) has demanded that all private wagons and buses be nationalised and driving licences of reckless drivers be confiscated.

Speaking at a meeting held at the Karachi Press Club on Friday to condole the death of a college student, Bushra Zaidi, under the wheels of a mini-bus on April 15, WAF members demanded further that public transport drivers must undergo periodic medical checkup to ensure that they did not use drugs.

They were of the opinion that women must get more space in public buses and wagons.

A resolution was passed in favour of forming a citizens committee to conduct an independent inquiry into circumstances leading to the death of Bushra Zaidi.

WAF members demanded that police officials responsible for killings and misbehaviour with people over the last few days be tried and given maximum punishment under the law if found guilty.

WAF announced it would hold a protest march from Sir Syed Girls College when the educational institutions will reopen.

The WAF meeting was addressed by Mrs Najma Babar, Ms Afshan Subohai, Mrs Shahida Jamil, Ms Mumtaz Noorani, Ms Hajra Masroor, Mrs Rashida Akhlaq, Ms Zahida Hina, Mrs Rashida Patel, Ms Anita Ghulamali and Ms Aisha.

Ms Anis Haroon from WAF conducted the proceedings.

Ms Anita Ghulamali, President of the Pakistan College Teachers Association, demanded that the KMC immediately construct an overhead bridge at the Nazimabad Chowrangl and name it after Bushra Zaidi.

The PCTA President demanded that schools, colleges and the university be immediately reopened.

Ms Hajra Masroor, a renowned short story writer, voiced her sorrow at the humiliation suffered by Nazimabad girl students at the hands of the police.

Mrs Shahida Jamil called upon students, women, lawyers and others, waging separate struggles for the restoration of democracy, to join hands and gather on one platform.

Mrs Rashida Patel, President of Pakistan Women Lawyers' Association, agreed that a factional conflict would help in perpetuation of military rule.

Ms Mumtaz Noorani, President of the Anjuman-i-Jamhooriyat Pasand Khawateen, pointed out that the present system of government was responsible for excessive powers to law-enforcing agencies.

The Sindhi Women's Tehrik President, Mrs Rashida Akhlaq, demanded a full inquiry into transport problem and police behaviour with the public.

Mrs Najma Babar from WAF reiterated her group's demands, pointing out that "it is not enough to hang the driver." She called for complete overhauling of traffic system and working of the police.

Ms Aisha (Business and Professional Women's Club), Mrs Zahida Hina, a writer; and Ms Afshan (Democratic Students Federation) condemned police excesses.

CSQ: 4600/420

PAKISTAN

## PUNJAB GOVERNMENT FORFEITS PUBLICATIONS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 17 Apr 85 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, April 16: The Punjab Government was proscribed 10 publications for containing objectionable material under the West Pakistan Press and Publications Ordinance 1963.

They are:-

1. Urdu weekly 'Lahore; of Jan. 5 and 12, 1985, published by Saqib Rizvi and printed by Mian Muhammad Shafi, Pakistan Printing Works, Lahore.

2. Urdu monthly 'Misbah; for the month of December 1984 published by Sh. Khurshid Ahmed and printed by Ziaul Islam Press, Rabwah.

3. Urdu monthly 'Rizwan' Lahore for the month of January 1985 published by Shobai Tabl-eegh Darul Aloom Hazbul Ehnaf Pakistan, Lahore and printed at Nusrat Press, Lahore.

4. English monthly 'The Review of Religions,' of London, printed by Unwin Brothers Ltd., the Gresham Press, old Working Surrey.

5. Urdu monthly 'Tash Heezul Azhan' for the month of October 1984 published by Mubarik Ahmed Khalid, Rabwah and printed at Ziaul Islam Press Rabwah.

6. Urdu daily 'Alfazel' Rabwah, of Dec. 3, 11, 12, 1984 published by Masood Ahmad, Rabwah and printed by Syed Abdul Haye, keeper of Ziaul Islam Press Rabwah.

7. Book intitled 'Munazra Hussainia' written by Allama Abul Fatooh Raazi and translated by Maulana Ghulam Hur Abul Khair Bhadwal (Mughal) and published by Maktaba Asgharia Darul Aloom Muhammadia, Sargodha.

8. Poster entitled 'Chehlum Shuhda-e-Tehreek Nifaz Fiqah Jafferia' issued by Tehreek-e-Nifaz Fiqah Jafferia Pakistan, Ali Masjid Rawalpindi.

9. Urdu fortnightly 'Taqazay' Lahore of Dec. 15, 1984 published by Piyam Shah Jahanpuri, Lahore and printed by Zafar Sons Printers, Lahore.

10. Posters issued by Islami Jamiat Tulaba entitled 'Martial Law Ki Musalsal Chashampooshi par Qadianiion Ki Wahshat, Burbariat. "Ghasab Hukmranon": Tuleba Ke Haqooq Bahal Karo: Jabri Akhraj Wapaslo: Jhuteh Mukadmaat Khatam Karo'.

All the copies of above mentioned publications have been forfeited to Government with immediate effect.-APP

CSO: 4600/413

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

GOVERNMENT TERMED 'WEAK'--Faisalabad, April 16--Senator Tariq Chaudhry has described the present Government as 'weak' and 'incompetent' as it is being run under the umbrella of Martial Law. Addressing a reception here, Mr Tariq Chaudhry said that the Government could be easily described as Muslim League Pagara Group's government and not a representative national government as claimed by the Martial Law regime. He said majority of the Ministers had been drawn by the Prime Minister from the Muslim League mainly from Pir Pagara Group. He claimed such an inherently weak government could never been in a position to rid the country from martial law and the country would never be able to achieve political stability. Mr Tariq also urged that the country should have its own defence strategy by imparting military education to youths and achieving self-sufficiency in production of armaments and atomic technology. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 17 Apr 85 p 2]

INCREASE IN RAILWAY FARES--Muzaffargarh, April 16--Railway fares are likely to be increased by 10 percent from the next financial year to meet the extra burden of expenses of Rs 1250 million. Informed sources said that the World Bank has provided assistance of 50 million dollars to railways to provide better facilities to the passengers. They said that Pakistan Railways has purchased 105 diesel locomotives with an estimated cost of Rs 2610 million and that Railways has invited tenders from international firms to complete its 800 millions microwave project. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 17 Apr 85 p 2]

FORMATION OF FRONT WELCOMED--Karachi, April 16--Dr Hamida Khuhro has welcomed the recent announcement in London that a Sindhi-Baluch-Pushtun Front (SBPF) has been formed "to fight to get equal status for the provinces of Pakistan in a confederal constitutional set up." In a Press statement issued here, she said that SBPF had put "the central issue in Pakistan i.e. the question of the autonomy of the provinces squarely in front of the public." She has also welcomed Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi's reference to the 1940 Resolution "which was the base for the formation of Pakistan and which must be the inspiration for a new constitution of Pakistan." She called upon the new National Assembly to declare itself constituent assembly and "take up this issue forthwith." [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 17 Apr 85 p 8]



AZAD KASHMIR ELECTIONS: PAPERS FILED--Islamabad, April 15--The Chief Election Commissioner of Azad Jammu & Kashmir, Mr Justice (Retd) Muhammad Gul today visited the offices of various Returning Officers (District & Sessions Judges) and witnessed the process of filing of nomination papers by the candidates for the various constituencies of AJ&K Assembly. Today was the last day of filing of nomination papers for 40 seats of the Assembly. The number of voters are: 12,34,802. In Azad Kashmir and Jammu the voters are: 9,62,220 and the figure of voters residing in Pakistan is 2,73,582. The split-up of 40 constituencies is as under:- Mirpur District 7, Kotli District 5, Poonch District 10, Muzaffarabad District 6, Jammu & others 6, and Kashmir valley 6. The scrutiny of nomination papers will be carried out tomorrow.--APP [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 16 Apr 85 p 1]

QUETTA POLICE 'EAGLE FORCE'--Quetta, April 19--The Baluchistan Government has formed an Eagle Force to fight anti-social elements and ensure peace in the province. The Force would be equipped with defensive weapons, mobile telecommunication facilities. Specially trained police personnels have been activated in and around provincial metropolis. The metropolis has been divided into different zones placed under contingents of trained police personnel with senior police officers to control any ugly event. As soon as any event prejudicial to peace and order is detected or reported to any police station, the contingents of Eagle Force would immediately be informed through walkie talkie tele system and the Force would cordon off the affected area to bring culprits to book.--PPI [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 20 Apr 85 p 2]

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